

Journal of J. L., of Quebec, merchant, pub. by the Society of colonial wars of the state of Michigan.

Journal of John Lees

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Published by the Society of Colonial Wars of the State of Michigan

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IN hunting through the manuscripts in the British Museum in London, I happened to light upon the original journal of John Lees, which is here given. It was particularly interesting to me because of the many references it contained of importance to the entire route of travel from Boston to New York, and return to Quebec, in the period of the peace between the end of the French-Indian War and the American Revolution.

The document is officially known as

“Additional Manuscript No. 28,605”

and was deposited in the Museum February 11, 1871.

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After reading it through, I procured a copy of it for publication, hoping at some future date to see the matter in such a form that others besides myself might read and enjoy it.

At about the same time, I chanced to fall upon three maps in the same department, which are interesting as being nearly contemporary with the Journal, and delineating the country mentioned by the traveler. These maps are not a part of the Lees' Journal, but are here reproduced as illustrative of the Country and as early specimens of western cartography.

In order the better to connect the journal with the people and places mentioned in it, I have procured the assistance of Miss M. Agnes Burton to annotate and edit it, and believe her work has been thoroughly and carefully done.

Detroit, March 20, 1911.

C. M. Burton.

5

Journal of J. L. of Quebec Merchant.

from London, Aprile 1768

to Boston, N. England

—Rhode Island—

—New York—

—Albany—

—Mohawk River—

—Fort Stanwix

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—Fort Oswego

Fort Niagara

—Erie

—Detroit

and back by the River St. Lawrence to Montreale in *October* 1768 Canada—Performed in about 5½ months.

J. L.

7

Journal of J. L., of Quebec, Merchant

11 *Set out from* London on Saturday morning the 23d April 1768, at four o Clock in the morning—Arrived at Deal at 7 o'C of the same day, and at 8 o Clock embarked on board the Ship Diana Captain James Hall, then lying in the Downs for Boston with six other passengers on board. Three of whom were Masters of Vessells out of Boston, who had Carried home new Built Vessells for sale, in which cases—Masters of Vessells are generally paid £20 to £25 Stg, for the run home and they to be at the expence of their passage out etc.

1 John Lees, sr., the author of this journal, was a merchant residing in Quebec as early as 1764. At that time he was carrying on trade in the upper countries in partnership with one Anderson. On Nov. 27, 1764, he obtained a grant of a lot in the Cul de Sac, Quebec. In 1765 he served as Justice of Peace and in the latter part of December, 1766, he commenced a suit in the Chancery Court in Quebec against Edward Harrison. It is probable that he returned to England in 1767, for, in April, 1768, he started from London on this trip to Detroit. His business in Detroit was immediately connected with Joncaire

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de Chabert whose credit had been seriously impaired upon his return to Canada. Lees returned to Montreal and on July 10, 1769, Chabert sold him a lot in Detroit, probably in part settlement of their accounts. On Oct. 30, 1773, John Lees was appointed one of eleven Protestant English citizens of Quebec to form a committee to draw up a petition praying for a House of Assembly in the Province of Quebec. Although the Government for the Province of Quebec had been upon the point of being settled for several years, it was not until late in 1773 that it was carefully considered. The outcome of these deliberations was the Quebec Act which deprived the citizens of the Province of the protection of the Writ of Habeas Corpus and of a trial by jury. When the Canadians learned the nature of this Act, the British element called a meeting which was followed by others and resulted in a petition for the repeal or amendment of this Act. John Lees took an active part in all these proceedings, was one of the committee of seven Quebec merchants who drew up the petition and both he and his son John Lees jr., signed it. Their names appear on all the subsequent papers and letters sent to Baron Maseres, the special agent appointed to promote their interests in London. On Nov. 11, 1774, Carleton wrote Dartmouth that John Lees, sr., one of the original seven from Quebec who drew up the petition to repeal the Quebec Act, intended returning home that fall. Whether he returned or not his name ceases to appear in the records of Canada. When the Canadian merchants petitioned in 1778 for the repeal of the Quebec Act, John Lees' name was not among them. He was appointed collector of excise in Scotland and at his death left John, jr., and two daughters, Sarah and Jane. *Maseres' Account of Proceedings of the British and other Protestant Inhabitants of Quebec, London 1775; Detroit Register's Office Vol. A. 1754–1775; Remembrances for 1778 p 186–8 Canadian Archives for 1906, pp 341–8, 413; Canadian Archives, Series Q, Vol. 113, p 219,; Vol. 114, p 163; Vol. 115, pp 206 and 221; Vol. 117, p 150; also Series S.*

Another Passenger was the Reverend Mr. John Eagleston, formerly a dissenting Minister at Fort Cumberland, 8 but had lately taken orders at home and was going out a Missionary

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to the province of Nova Scotia, another Passenger was Capt. Ross of Casco Bay, lately master of a Brig belonging to E. Levey of Quebec.

Wednesday 26th April about 5 o Clock in the Evening weighed Anchor, and sailed from the Downs with a fair wind.

Saturday 29th Aprile, about 6 o Clock, took our departure from Portland.

Saturday 20th May got Soundings on the Banks of Newfoundland in 35 fathoms.

Monday 29th May spoke a fishing Schooner 2 days out oi Boston which told us we were 55 Leagues off that harbour, W. half N. hove to and fished in a 100 fath water.

Tuesday 31 May at 11 oClock Forenoon spied the Land to the Leeward, bearing about E. by N. 6 or 7 leag off, the Weather hazy, at 12 Observed, and were in 43d having since yesterday's observation made a degree of northering, being by reason of Contrary winds obliged to stand N.W. by N. *at 5 o Clock* P. M. hove to the Wind coming off the Land and being then about 3 Leagues only off it, sounded, and found 45 fathom water, the Land made all around us like a Bay, seemed all in Islands, and was judged by the Masters of Vessells on board to be Casco Bay, being about 35 Leagues, N E of Cape Anne.

The 1st June Observed, and were in 42 48 having by a Breese in the night from E. by N. got so far to the Southward, the Winds were most unaccountably variable greatest part of this day, coming on in squalls soon after our making the Land, and Veering all around the Compass.

Thursday 2d June 1768, about five o Clock at night spied the Land on the Lee Bow, which the Capt. and oys on board judged to be Cap Ann, distant about 5 leagues, bearing S.W. of us- At 8 at night, tacked ship, and stood from the land, Wind being S.S.W.

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Friday 3d June, about 10 in the morning made Land from the Weather Bow, about 4 Leagues off, the Weather Hazy on Clearing up Judged it to be the high Land of Marshfield on the South of the Massachusetts Bay

This Bay is said to be about 18 leas over from Cap Ann to Cap Cod, the former is pretty high land; about 11 A.M. saw more land to Leeward, and all around us, the nearest being what is called half way Rock, in the Entrance of the Bay on the Starboard hand, about five Leas. from the light house, which is Reckoned 9 or 10 from Town, at 4 o Clock was close by the light house, and had a Pilot that came on board of us. This light-house Stands on a small Island on the Starboard hand, is built of Stone, and said to be 120 feet high. At 5 o Clock was abreast of Fort William², about 2 leagues from Town. It is an extream neat built Fort, stands on an Island on the Larboard hand coming up the Harbour. Was Told it mounts 40.42 pounders, fronting the passage for ships, and in all about 150 pieces of Cannon round the Island, but is a place of no strength if attacked by a regular force. At 7 o Clock came to an Anchor close by the Long Wharff. The Romney Man³ of War, Captain Conor lying at an Anchor a little below us, She is a fine new 50 Gun Ship. The passengers came all ashore at the long Wharff and were conducted by Captain Hall to one Collonel Ingarsols⁴ a good Tavern in Kings Street, which leads down to the Kings Wharf. This Wharff is said to be 540 feet long. The 4th June being the King's Birth day, saw the Militia muster and fire. Were 10 Companies of 70 or 80 each, also a troop of horse, but they were poorly mounted. The foot made also a poor appearance, some good looking

² Castle William, the name given to the fort on Castle Island, from the accession of William and Mary to the time of the Revolution.

³ The Frigate Romney under Captain John Corner, was the station-ship at this time (1768) and lay moored in the harbor. *Drake's History and Antiquities of Boston*.

⁴ Col. Joseph Ingersol kept the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern" in King St. just below the Town House, from 1764–9. It was one of the popular places in the town and on March 18, 1768,

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was the meeting place, dividing that honor with the "Boston Coffee House," of a large company celebrating the repeal of the Stamp Act. In 1768 Ingersol also had a wine-cellar next door. The New England Bank occupied the site at a later date. *Drake's History and Antiquities of Boston; Drake's Old Boston Taverns.*

10 men were among them, but in general, they were out of size. They muster 4 times a years. The Officers were in Regimentalls and look'd well. The Gouvernor has usually a Cadet Company that attends him on this occasion, but they did not muster this day, on account of some party Divisions among themselves. The Governor, Assembly, and Councill met in the Court house drunk the health of the Day, and saw the Militia fire in Kings Street, which leads to the Court house. Two Brass 4 pounders also were fired in the Street under the Care of a Company of Artillery, which belongs to the Province, and is of an Old establishment. They were all in uniform and made a very good appearance. Fort William is Garronised by the Province, the Cannon etc. having been bought at their expence. In the morning of that day waited upon Mr. Kennedy and had a Conversation with him about my affairs. Set out from Boston *10th June* in a Stage Coach, that goes to Providence, distance 42 mils. The land along this road, is but very poor, being a light Sandy Soil, not much Grain is raised here about, the Country being cheifly covered with Orchards; a few miles from Providence there is a Considerable Iron work belonging to

At this work a good many Potts, Pans, Anchors, and such work is manufactured, which they send to New York for sale, The Cheif Trade from Providence is in Lumber, and stock for the West Indies, their principall return is Molasses, great part of which is made into Rum, and sent to New York; from which place they have the Cheif of their Dry goods, as they have only one Vessell yearly from London, in that Trade a good deal of Connecticut Tobacco is also sent from this place to New York, from which it is afterwards exported to Newfoundland etc. The names of the principall Merchants in the place were Ward, Levy, Arnot etc.

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There is water in coming up this River for pretty large Vessells. Close by the Town is a Bridge over the River, built of Wood with stone Pillars, it Draws up in one part 11 to lett Vessells pass, as there is a good deal of shipping built above it. The River is called Providence River. There is divers Sects of Riligion here, The People are not reckoned so strict as in Boston Gouvernment. There is a Chapel for the Church of England People; Presbeterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, and Methodists are all to be found here. At Seven o Clock in the morning of the 11th June, set out in a passage Sloop down the River to Newport, the Country extreamly pleasant as you go down, but very little Corn land and the Soil seems light and sandy, the Cheif Grain they raise is Rye, and Indian Corn. It is reckoned 30 miles to Newport, many Shoals are in this River, particularly about 3 Leagues from the Town, two sand Banks run across from each side, and leave a passage only of half a mile, which makes the pilotage very dangerous to Strangers. This River is generally frose up for 6 Weeks in the Winter, vast Bodies of Ice flotting on the shoals along the Coast. About 5 leagues below Providence lye three Islands, called *Prudence*, *Patience* and *Hope* , they seem extreamly beautifull, the first is the largest being about 8 miles long, on the North side is the Town of Bristol, being about 4½ leagues from Providence, almost opposite to it, is Warwick Town, and Greenick. Within about 2 leagues of Newport, is a fine large Island called Norragancet, has a most beautifull appearance, and raises a vast deal of Stock, and Indian Corn, is about 8 miles long. About 4 o Clock arrived at Newport, on the Starboard hand in coming in, is a small Fort and Battery of 30, 18 and 24 pounders, it looks extreamly well but is said to be of no strength; a number of Shipping belongs to this Port, and is cheifly employed in the West India Trade, a vast quantity of Molasses is here distilled into Rum, and sent in large quantities to the Coast of Africa, and all over the Continent of America, Canada, and Newfoundland. They have severall Vessells in the Guinea Trade, most of their Dry-Goods they have from New York; a few Vessells 12 are built at this place, a great many Horses, Sheep, & oy r Stock is shipped from this Island, to the W. Indies; but their Lumber for that Trade is generally sent them from Providence. The Island is about 12 miles long, & 2 Broad. There is many hatters in this place, as they Carry on a good deal of Counterband Trade in that branch to the West Indies. They are supplied

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with their Beaver chiefly from N. York. There is a vast number of Jews in this place, the Country people through the Island are in general Quakers. Their last Gouvernor was a Quaker, one Hopkins⁵ , their present one is an Anabaptist—

5 Stephen Hopkins was governor in 1767 and Josias Lyndon was his successor.

Their whole Civill officers are elective, and commonly, (Parties running so high), they are totally changed with their Gouvernor; his Sallary is very triffling; but being naval Officer ex officio, that employment is of some value to him; of about 1000 D r.s a year, the Judge of Admiralty and Custom house Officers are those only named from home. The people here are very jealous about their Charter Priviledges, and complain greatly of the decline of Trade, and say it is owing to the large Value of Cash, that is sent out of the Province for duties on Molasses; however I believe much Contraband Trade is carried on here, indeed the Kings officers durst not venture to do their duty with Strictness; they send a great deal of their returns from the West Indies to N. York for Sale, and in payment of English Manufactures sent them from that place. Their most considerable Merchants, are Mr. Joseph Wanton⁶ , Mr. Lopes, a Jew, Mr. Thurston, Messrs. Pollock and Hayes, The Beaver stood their Hatters lately from 6/6 to 7/—York Currency. One Mr. William M. Campbell an Attorney at Greenwich appeared to be the most able Speaker in the house of Assembly. One Samuel Bowers was their Speaker.

6 Joseph Wanton was governor in 1769.

Sett off from Newport for New York in a passage Sloop, 13 on the 15th of June, in Company with Mr. Bridges and Captain Thomson of New York, and one Mr. Monroe from Scotland; by Contrary winds, and Calms, were 3 days in getting down the Sound to N. York, it was extream pleasant sailing along this Coast, and long-Island on the left, appeared like an intire Garden near it is Fisher's Island. Sir William Johnson⁷ was then here for the benefit of his health, the air of this place being reckoned extreamly good for Sick people. Arrived at New York on Saturday 18th June. Some Gentlemen with whom I

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had business being out of Town, was Obligated to wait till the 24th⁸ May. They have had a very elegant Church⁹ and Colledge¹⁰ built here within these few years.

⁷ Sir William Johnson, Indian Agent, had caught a severe cold from standing in the snow for many hours while conducting an Indian Council early in the year. He was confined to his room for several weeks and at the end of April was able to travel, going to Fisher's Island where he soon recovered. *Stone's Life of Sir William Johnson*.

⁸ Should be June 24th.

⁹ St. Paul's church on Broadway and Vesey street was built in 1766.

¹⁰ King's College, perpetuated in Columbia College, was chartered Oct. 31, 1754. The building was finished in 1760 and a college course established.

Friday 24 Set out in a passage Sloop to Albany in Company with Ensign Rutherford¹¹ of the 15th Reg t. the Lands for about 15 or 20 Miles about New York, are pretty well Settled, and the Country looks extream pleasant about 20 Miles up the Country is what they Call the Highlands, which indeed are extreamly high, and afford a very Romantick prospect in going up the River, they are part of a chain of Mountains that run South to the province of Pensilvania. Betwixt this and Albany the Lands are but very thinly Settled, and in many places not a house to be seen for 8 or 10 leagues, the Land being extreamly mountaneous, and the Soil very barren, behind the mountains on the North side, there are some very fertile Spotts, and

¹¹ It is not easy to determine who was this Ensign Rutherford. There was a Robert Rutherford in Capt. Daniel Campbell's company in 1767. There was also a John Rutherford who was captured at Detroit during the Indian wars (1763) who escaped to the fort and came down to Niagara. He is described as a boy, who having seen enough of life in the woods went to his uncle in New York, where he lived for some time. Later he joined the 42nd Regiment as ensign and went upon Bouquet's expedition against the Ohio

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Indians. *Rutherford's Narrative, Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Sept., 1893, p 229. Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society Vols. V pp 1–4 and VI pp 27–29.*

14 severall Inhabitants lately settled. About fourty miles from Albany is an Iron-work belonging to Old Mr. Livingston¹² of New York, from which, a Considerable quantity of Pig-Iron is sent down to New York.

12 Robert Livingston, the “old Mr. Livingston” here referred to, was born 1708 and died 1790. He was the third Lord of the Manor.

Sunday 26th June Arrived at Albany; this a pleasant situated place on the South side of Hudson's River, with an agreeable Country round it, in the Neighbourhood is a Number of Gentlemen's houses pleasantly situated, particularly Colonell Broadstreets, Collonell Ramsalon's¹³, Collonell Cuylers and Mr. Silvesters. In this place are severall Dutch People of Considerable Estates¹⁴, before the Reduction of Canada many of them made a great deal of money in a Contraband Trade with that Country furr; the Town is governed by a Mayor and Corporation¹⁵. The houses are cheifly built after the Dutch taste. On the North end of the Town is a small wooden Fort¹⁶, with 4 Blockhouses, at present falling to ruins—

13 Probably intended for Col. John Van Rensselaer (Van was often dropped).

14 Mrs. Grant in *Memoirs of an American Lady*, describes Albany about this time as occupying a great space of ground, a sort of semi-rural establishment, every house having its garden, well and lawn.

15 The Mayor of Albany in 1768 was Volckert Petrus Douw. He was appointed by Lieut. Gov. Colden in 1761. His successor, Abraham Cornelius Cuyler, was appointed in 1770. The Council consisted of Peter Lansing, Jacob J. Lansing, John R. Bleecker, Abraham Yates, jr., Henry I. Bogert and Abraham Ten Broeck.

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16 The fort here referred to was Fort Frederick.

Monday 27th Set out from Albany for Shenectady being 17 miles, the road very fine, but the Country not at all settled, being very barren Sandy Soil; put up that night at Campbell's a Tavern, and spent the Evening with one Mr. Finn, and Duncan—Merchants¹⁷ in that place—

¹⁷ James Phyn and John Duncan were for many years connected with each other in business. From 1760 to 1763 the firm of Livingston (Peter B. of Albany), Duncan, Rutherford (Walter of New York) and Phyn (of Schenectady) were carrying on a trade with the Indians and people in the West. In Detroit they were represented by James Sterling and John Porteus. In 1764 (April) Duncan and Sterling formed a partnership and in the year following John Porteus was added to the firm. Duncan, Phyn and Alexander Ellice were doing business in the summer of 1766 and early in 1767 the partnership was dissolved and Ellice and Phyn carried on the business. This firm continued until 1774.

Tuesday 28 June waited there till the Arrival of my baggage from Albany. The Dutch People's method of travelling is in small light Waggon, chiefly drawn by one 15 horse. Schenectady is greatly increased in building since last War; Its only support is the Indian Trade, and its chief Inhabitants (except a few who made money in the last War) are bateau-men, that are employed by those concerned in the Indian Trade. About 11 leagues above this is Cocknwago¹⁸, so called from a Village of Indians near to it. Wednesday 29th, Set out from Schenectady for that place and Slept at one Major Fundo's¹⁹ of the Militia, The Country hereabouts is extremely pleasant, and the Settlements on the Banks of the Mohawk River seemingly flourishing. The Settlers hereabouts are chiefly low-Dutch; above 12 miles above Schenectady is Fort Hunter, at present without any Garrison, near it was the ancient Residence of Sir William Johnson²⁰ when a Merchant or Indian Trader in that Country, where he had been settled about 30 years ago under the protection of Sir Peter Warren a Relation of his. About 3 miles from Major Fundo's up the River, and Two miles into the Woods, Johnson-Hall is Situated the present Residence of Sir William

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Johnson, it stands agreeably on an eminence, on a Square Tract of 40 or 50 Acres of clear land in the heart of the Woods, The Lands hereabout are reckoned extreamly fertile, and he is proprietor, by purchase from the Indians, and otherwise, of about 40,000 Acres in the neighbourhood of his house, It is said he purposes establishing a Town here, and gives Considerable encouragement for all kinds of Artificers to come and settle near him; he has already built a Church there, and has a Wood and flour Mill erected, and also set up a manufactory of Potash. His house is a place of some strength; it was formerly of Wood, but he is at present rebuilding it of

18 Also spelled Caghnawagah. These Indians were of the Mohawk tribe and allied to the Six Nations. Some of them emigrated to the Sault St. Louis near Montreal and were always warmly attached to the British interests.

19 Major Jelles Fonda, son of Douw Fonda.

20 Sir William Johnson was son of Christopher Johnson and Anna Warren, sister of (Admiral) Sir Peter Warren. William was born in Ireland in 1715. He was sent to America by his uncle, Sir Peter, to take charge of the lands of the latter—being some 14000 acres in the Mohawk Valley, now Florida, N. Y. The text of the narrative indicates the date of building the stone building called Johnson Hall, the residence of Sir William.

16 stone, and intends making it a place more proper for defence than formerly, he does a great deal of good in that Country and is in general much respected. The most remote Nations of Indians come to wait of him and have their difference decided. And last Spring he is reckoned to hav done a most essential Service to his Country, having been the means, by his influence, of bringing about a lasting peace betwixt the 6 Nations and the Cherokees²¹ to the Southward, who had been for time Immemorial at War with one another.

21 This council was held from March 4–12, 1768, and was the one at which Johnson caught his cold. *Stone's Life of Sir William Johnson, Vol. II p 298.*

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Thursday 30th June Set out from this to the German Flattas²² being about 40 Miles, and lodged at one Captain Herkimans²³ of the militia; near his house is an old stockaded Fort²⁴, of the same name, where many of the poor Settlers took shelter at the time the descent was made on the German Flatts in the beginning of last War, by a party from Canada, under the command of Captain Billeter²⁵. Before the Garrison there could afford them any assistance, the Party had made their escape. I was told not so many was scalped on that occasion as was given out, but many were taken Prisoners and Carried to Canada; where the Indians sold them to the Canadians. Between Cahnawaga and fort Hirkiman is a village called Conashechery, a very pleasant Settlement, with a village of Indians near it. A little above this is the principall Castle of the Mohaucks, now but thinly inhabited, that Nation having been greatly on the decrease; during last War it was one of our Forts called.

²² On Nov. 12, 1757, an expedition under the command of M. de Bellestre composed of Canadians and Indians attacked the settlements on the north side of the Mohawk—the German Flatts—and destroyed them.

²³ Herkiman—Nicholas Herkimer afterwards general.

²⁴ Indian name for Fort Herkimer—Kouari.

²⁵ Billeter—Francois Marie Picoté de Bellestre was the last French Commandant at Detroit. He died at Quebec about May 20, 1793. At that time he was member of the legislative council of Lower Canada. For sketch of his life see *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Vol. XXXIV p 336*.

The chief of the Settlers hereabouts are Germans, and a 17 more hospitall Sett of People, than the Low Dutch near Albany and Shenectady.—

Friday morning set out from Fort Herkiman, and six miles above that, at one Cunningham's an Indian Trader, hired a Bateau with 2 men to carry me to Oswego, for 18 Dollars. At this

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place the Settlements on the Mohawk River cease, and betwixt it, and Fort Stanwix are very few Settlers, except only a new Tract of land to belonging to one *Hassenclever* 26 a Foreigner, who lately settled a number of German Families, on that Tract, being about 40 miles below Fort Stanwix; the Intention of this Settlement was, to introduce the Raising of Hemp; of which each Settler was to pay him a certain quantity yearly, for a Term of years, after which, the Land was to become their own; but the Settlement has been found not to succeed, as the Country people found it more profitable for them to engage in the raising of wheat, (which they begun to do) and have not been able to fullfill their Engagements with him, this has occasioned him and the Settlers to quarrell, by which many of them have left the Lands and taken up others on easier Terms, by which the Settlement is on the decline.

26 Peter Hasenclever in the interests of the Society for the Promotion of the Arts, came to America with schemes for introducing and carrying on Agriculture and Manufacturing in the colonies. He began purchasing lands in 1765. He built up iron foundries and a potash industry, and wanted to establish a company to trade with Niagara and Detroit. In 1768 he began to have trouble with his partners and after losing all his possessions, he returned, in 1769, to England. *Calendar of Johnson Manuscripts*.

Slept that night in the Woods at a place, where formerly stood Fort Scuyler²⁷, about 16 miles above Fort Hirkiman, this night it Thundered, lightned, and rained, in a most frightfull manner, by which, and the Multitude of Musketoos that were near this place. I spent a most dismal night.—

27 Fort Schuyler, the site of the present city of Utica, was so named in honor of Col. Philip Schuyler. It was built in 1758 to guard the folding place in the Mohawk and to form one in the chain of posts between Fort Stanwix and Schenectady. When the British overthrew Canada these forts became more or less useless and abandoned. During the Revolution a block house was erected on the site. *Annals and Recollections of Oneida Co. by Pomeroy Jones pp 490–1*.

Saturday morning early, left Scuyler and arrived early in the evening, at Fort Stanwix²⁸, having come about 30 miles. The Current of the Mohawk River is here very strong, and the Bateau men, are Obliged often to set up against the stream, with great difficulty, and the Trader's Bateaux, when deep loaded, find it very tedious. On arriving at this fort the cheif Body of the Waters of the Mohawk River terminates, and is lost in a small stream that issues from the high Lands to the North West of that Fort; from which place to Shenectady is computed 100 miles, which is the Course of the Mohawk River, and glides down a gentle Stream without any Rapids, except at one place called the Catrows about 10 miles above Shenectady. The spot on which Fort Stanwix stands, is Reckoned very high, as there is a river runs down on the Contrary side of it, to witt, the Mohawk River and Wood Creek. This fort was built in 1760, by General Stanwix, is a neat little fortification built of Wood, and fitt to garrison 3 Regiments; but it is now falling all to ruins, There is a half pay officer with a Corporeal and six men, that keep Possession of it, intended cheifly for forwarding Expresses to the Officers at the Upper Forts; the Country is entirely unsettled round this Fort—

28 Fort Stanwix—present site of Rome, N. Y. It was often incorrectly called Fort Schuyler from which fact arose the custom of referring to Fort Schuyler as “Old Fort Schuyler.” *Pioneers of Utica.*

The Mohawk Indians claim the ground on which the Fort stands as their property and are sometimes troublesome on that account²⁹. The Governour³⁰ of New York, it seems, has granted away all the Lands on each side of the Mohawk, within a little of Fort Stanwix and some very fine Lands are said to be there about yet a Stop is to

29 These Indian troubles were quieted for a time by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, Nov. 5, 1768, by which the Indians gave up all claim to these lands and the boundary between the whites and Indians was established. *Documentary History of New York, Vol. 1 p 587.*

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30 Sir Henry (Harry) Moore was governor of New York at this time. He was the only Colonist appointed governor of New York. He was born in Jamaica in 1713. For his services as governor of that island and for his bravery and wisdom in averting serious peril during a slave insurrection he was rewarded with a baronetcy and the governorship of New York in 1764. He died there in 1769. *Early Western Travels by Thwaites, Vol. 1 p 313.*

19 be put to any further Grants on that Quarter, as it creates a Jalousy amongst the Indians—From this Fort there is a Carrying Place of about a mile till you embark on Wood Creek. The only Settlers at this Fort are a few Waggoners, who live by transporting the Merchants of Albany's Goods over this place.

The Waters of this Creek are sometimes so low, that General Amherst and Collonel Broadstreet last War, when the Expedition went against Niagara and Canada, were Obligated to erect Sluices in different parts of the River, by which the water might be Collected, so as the Cannon, Ammunition, and heavy baggage belonging to the Army might be Carried down in Batteaus, by which this service was effected with most incredible Labour and Expenche. These Sluices are now all broke down, and the Creek in many places choacked up with Logs and trees, which makes it often very difficult and dangerous for the Trader's Batteaus to get forward. In dry Seasons they are often obliged to get out of their Bateaus and drag them for miles over the dry Channell. I luckily found plenty of Water in the Creek, when I came down; about 6 miles down the creek, on the right hand is a Vacant spot in the Woods, where Fort Bull³¹ formerly stood, which was Cutt off in the beginning of last War by a party of Canadians and Savages from Canada, under the Command of Mr. Delery³², who massacred the whole Garrison; its said because they refused to surrender, or had most of them got in liquor. The Fort was commanded by one Mr. Bull an officer of Nepperet's or Sherley's³³. This Creek as you go down it, turns wider, the Waters are of a Redish Cast and

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31 Fort Bull was little more than a palisaded wall around storehouses. It was garrisoned by thirty men from Shirley's regiment when in March, 1756, Joseph C. DeLery with 265 men was sent from Montreal to attack the "Oneida Carrying Place" and intercept the troops and provisions which were being sent from Albany to aid Oswego. DeLery captured Fort Bull and after burning it returned to Canada. *The Captivity of Robert Eastburn* p 32.

32 Joseph Chaussegros de Lery, a distinguished Canadian officer who saw service at Fort Duquesne and Crown Point—not Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery, chief engineer of Canada. *The Captivity of Robert Eastburn* p 32.

33 Sir William Pepperell's regiment was the Second American Regiment. Shirley's regiment was the First American Regiment.

20 esteemed very unwholesome to drink. On Sunday evening about 5 o Clock we arrived at the Royal Block house being 36 miles from Fort Stanwix, no Garrison is kept here, and the Fort has been lately burned by some drunken Indians; during the last War there was a pretty good road through the Wood from Fort Stanwix, for supplying this Fort with provisions, the distance is about 20 miles, but it is now much out of repair, Wood Creek falls into the Oneida Lake, and the Royal Block house is situated on the Eastermost point of that Lake; here I slept two nights among the ruins of the Block house, being unable to put out on the Lake, as it was very severe Weather; Travellers are here detained sometimes eight days on that account, as in Crossing the Lake they are Obligated to cutt from point to point, at least 10 miles distant; and the Landing between these points being very rocky and dangerous, they seldom venture on the Lake, except in moderate weather. The Country round the Blockhouse is entirely unsettled; about 4 miles to the Southward of it is the Castle or Village of the Oneida Indians, who have a Missionary, a new England man³⁴ , amongst them—

34 The Rev. Samuel Kirtland is the missionary here referred to. He remained in this tribe for forty years. *Documents of the Colonial History of New York, Vol. VIII, p 631.*

Library of Congress

On Tuesday morning the 5th July, we left the Royal Block house with a fair wind, and about 5 o Clock in the evening got to the other side, being about 30 miles, having Cutt from point to point. The sides of this Lake is very stonny, and the Woods seem very thick.

It is judged the Lands round this Lake, especially on the South Side, are very fine, and would make a very good Settlement—

In the North Side of the lake, where it empties itself into the Onandago River, formerly stood Fort Bruington³⁵ —lately abandoned, and since burned by the Savages; about 30 miles down the River, are the falls of Oswego,

35 Fort Brewington or Brewerton.

21 and near them was formerly a Block house or advanced guard, from Oswego fort³⁶ ; but is now burned, About seven in the Evening the 5th July I arrived within 30 miles of Fort Oswego, where I slept that night, on the South side of the Onundago River, at a Camping place, as it is Called, or a spott Cleared in the Woods by the side of the River; such places Travellers have made in the Course of time, and are to be mett with at every 10 miles distance. The Onundago River from where it is formed by the emptying of the Oneido lake, at the South west corner of the Lake, is about 48 or 50 Miles- to Oswego; The River is pretty broad and runs down with a smooth, but heavy stream, The Current is very Strong as you come near the falls of Oswego, and loaded Batteaus are Obliged to make a small carrying place of about 30 or 40 feet; light Batteaus venture to run over the falls; betwixt this and Oswego Fort, the river is full of falls and Batteaux's go down with amazing Swiftness; last War severall Accidents happened here by Batteaux's oversetting, by which many men and Baggage were lost; on the South side of the River the Old fort of Oswego formerly Stood; it is now situated on the North side which is reckoned a better situation for commanding of ground; it is a Pentagon, was built by Captain Sowers³⁷ under the Direction of Collonel Halidiman;

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36 Fort Oswego: As early as 1727 by order of Governor Burnet, fortifications were built on the south side of the river by the English—these are preserved in a map by De Lery of Montreal. In 1755 Shirley began a new fort on the opposite shore to accommodate the soldiers he wished to station there. Thus in 1756 there were two forts at the entrance of the river—Fort Ontario (on the east side of the river) and Fort Oswego (on the south or west side) called by the French, Forts Ontario and Pepperell or Chouaguen. (See map *Gentleman's Magazine* 1757). In 1756 while Mercer was in command, the fort was attacked by Canadians. Mercer was killed and his successor, Lieut. Col. John Littlehales (*Pouchot* I p 67) surrendered to Montcalm, Aug. 14, 1756. In the summer of 1758 the English under Bradstreet rebuilt the forts at the Portage. Oswego was still under French control when in 1759 General Prideaux set out to attack Niagara. On June 30th he ordered Haldimand to stop at Oswego and build a fort there on the site of Fort Ontario. Early in July, M. de la Corne with 400 or 500 Canadians and some colonial soldiers repaired to Oswego where he attacked the English. He was repulsed and fled, leaving the fort in the hands of the English. *Pouchot's Old French War*, I p 208; *Canadian Archives, Series B* 68, p 30.

37 Lieut. Thomas Sowers, Engineer Extraordinary was ordered to Oswego by Gen. Amherst in the spring of 1759 with plans of a fort to be constructed there. In November, 1765, he was ordered to make a report to Sir Henry Moore, Governor of New York, stating the condition of forts and fortifications in the province, extending to Fort Stanwix. In April, 1766, he engineered the campaign route to Oswegatchie and then to Detroit. He was Commanding Engineer in 1773 and submitted a general estimate of all the works in the Engineer's Department for forts and posts in North America. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections Vol. X; New York Historical Society Fund Collections* 1881.

22 the Summer the Genl. Predeaux³⁸ went against Niagara; it is a Wooden Fort, with a Ditch round, and some out works, but is now in a very ruinous situation it could formerly contain a Garrison of 1000 Men, but the Bomb Prooffs are at present all Tumbling down, and there is not more than 50 Men that now garrison the place. It was on the 6th July I

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arrived at this Fort, and Captain Wharton of the royal Americans was commanding Officer, who shewed me many Civilities, The Kings Vessell being sailed for Niagara, not many days before I arrived, and no Batteau's or Men to hire, I was Obliged to remain here 8 days, till two Bateau's belonging to Mr. Fin³⁹ of Shenectady arrived; This Fort stands on a point of Lake Ontorio, which is the name now given to it, The Old Fort, when attacked by the French last War, had between 2 and Three Thousand Men in Garrison, but the Forces from Canada that attacked it were much superior and they had a vast advantage of Ground, having erected their Batteries on the Spott where Fort Oswego now stands; and a party of Indians and Canadians crossed the River in the night, about a mile above the Fort, and got possession of some rising Grounds behind it, which so intimated the Garrison, who Imagined their party were more numerous, and being before struck with a pannick on the death of Collonel Mercer⁴⁰ their Commanding Officer, his Successor made a shamefull Capitulation, which was the occasion of the reduction of the Two Regiment that were then in Garrison, and brought Infamy on our Arms. The Woods for about half a mile round the Fort, are pretty well Cleared away, and the Situation of this Fort is pretty well Calculated for Defence. Before I set out from it, advice came to the Commanding Officer that the Fort was to be abandoned,

38 Gen. Prideaux was accidentally killed at the siege of Niagara, July 19, 1759, and was succeeded by Sir William Johnson. *Mante* p 225.

39 Mr. Phyn.

40 Lieut. Col. James F. Mercer was gazetted lieutenant-colonel of Sir William Pepperell's or the 2nd American Regiment on Oct. 7, 1754. He had been previously on half-pay. *Documentary History of New York, Vol. I, p 494; Life of Sir William Pepperell by Parsons* p 275.

23 and the Cannon and Stores sent to Oswegachie I counted when there 30 or 40 pieces of Cannon on the ramparts, beside several field pieces, and Brass Howitzers. On 14th July at 8 in the morning left Oswege in a Trader's Batteau for Niagara, by contrary winds,

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were obliged to ly by some hours, and at last, it Continuing to blow harder, was forced ashore, at a place called the 6 *miles point* , here we had almost lost our Batteaus, and great part of the Goods; many of which received Dammage, about 2 o Clock we got most of them ashore, and was detained there by rough weather, till *friday Evening* at 5 o Clock, when we sett off, and slept that night the 15th at a place 16 miles off.—

Saturday breakfasted within 5 miles of *Sadus* 41 and the wind being contrary, waited there till Sunday Evening at 5 o Clock, being the 17th July, left that place and on our seeting out mett Mr. Gamelin⁴² from Detroit, with 2 Canoes of 70 Packs, had been out about a moneth. Slept at *great Sadous* about 30 miles from Oswego. *Monday left* great Sadous, breakfasted 10 miles off; at Stopping for Dinner 15 miles further, spoke Two Canoes bound for Detroit, in one of which I took a passage, as they seemed to go quicker than our Batteaus, one Mr. Lafor of Detroit owned it; he had met with extream bad weather, having been out about 30 days from Montreal. Went that day within 4 miles of the half way point, called point *a' la Tourte* spoke that Evening, about 4 o Clock two Canoes for Mr. Baby⁴³ , Twenty two days out, also one for Cazeau and another for Monsr. Mouton, we saw also, two Batteaus at a distance supposed from Niagara—

41 Sadus—Sodus.

42 It is quite probable that this is Medor or Medard Gamelin, who was born in 1733 and came to Detroit when quite young. He was captured at Niagara (1759) and having taken the British oath of allegiance was sent to Detroit to pacify the French inhabitants and induce them to accept the British rule. He married Angelique Cicotte (1763) and was prominent in military circles. He died during the American Revolution. *Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII p 226.*

43 Jacques Duperon Baby, the eighth child of Raymond Baby, was born at Montreal Jan. 4, 1731, and married at Detroit Nov. 23rd, 1760, to Susanne Hubert Lacroix Reaume. He and his brothers joined Vaudreuil's forces in 1751 and went west to Ohio and Michigan

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as volunteers. He Settled at Detroit and entered the fur trading business at Mackinaw and Fort Pitt as well as Detroit. He had twenty-two children and many of his descendants are still living in and about Windsor and Detroit. He died at the latter place August 2, 1789.

Baby Genealogy Mss. See also note 63.

24

Tuesday at 5 o Clock left this place, and dined 8 miles off; about 11 spoke two Canoes with one Mr. Remeau aboard, Slept at a little River reckoned about 13 leagues from Niagara; at this place camped about 6 o Clock in the Evening, and next morning, at half past 3, left that place. N.B. the South side of the Lake is always used by Batteaus and Canoes bound up being much safer for them than the North side, which is full of Shoals, Rocks, and Islands; this however was the side of the Lake used always by the French in time of War, but in time of peace, they often came the South Side having, it is said, then Carried on a good deal of Contraband Trade with our Indian Traders at Oswego—

Wednesday the 20th June set out from the 13 leagues River, Called *River de Bewf* to Niagara, the Lands along the South side of the Lake Ontorio appear very good especially those near the Edge of the Lake, there is several pretty good Rivers run into it with a good many small lakes, or ponds, and levell ground, which if Cleared, would Surely make very good Settlements, the Wind coming to blow hard abouta 11 o'clock we put ashore at a small pond, near some high Lands, reckoned about 7 leagues from Niagara; the same evening at 11 o'Clock, arrived at Niagara, having been nine days in Crossing Lake Ontorio, distance is reckoned from Oswego 160 miles; a large pond, or small Lake, lies about 6 miles to the Eastward of the Fort, where there is always excellent Shooting in the fall, and is much resorted to for that purpose. Niagara is situated on a point, betwixt Lake Ontorio and the River Niagara, which runs from Lake Erie, very strong by Situation, the Walls are of Clay or Mud, raised pretty high with a Ditch, and regular outworks before them, as also a Draw Bridge etc. which renders it pretty strong on the Land side, it commands most of the ground round it, A large stone house, was the Original Fort in the French 25 time; was built about 38 years ago, by Mr. Chabbert's⁴⁴ Father, for the Conveniency of Trading

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with the Savages the interception of a Reinforcement, that was on the way from Detroit, was the reason why the place fell so easy a Conquest to Sir William Johnson; in the year of 1759; the place is very strong naturely; while here, two Canoes passed for one Mr. Berthelot⁴⁵ of Montreal, and Two Batteaus for one Finn of Shenectady; Capt. Brown⁴⁶ informed me very few Canoes had gone up this year from Canada; but a good many had gone loaded down, rather more than last year, The Indian Traders here, are chiefly poor ignorant Dutch People, and none of them of any Consequence. One called *Fraser* is the only one I knew, and was the most Intelligent.—

44 The fort built by Joncaire, Mr. Chabert's father, was on the site of the present town of Lewiston. In 1719 Joncaire obtained the consent of the Senecas to erect a cabin for himself upon the Niagara River. This he enlarged into a trading house and stronghold guarding the portage. In 1725 the Senecas consented to the building of a stone house on the site of the present Fort Niagara and Joncaire's trading house was allowed to go to decay. The stone house, the one referred to, was called the "Mess House" or "Castle" and was not completed until 1726. The English tried to force the Indians to drive out Joncaire, claiming that the land upon which the cabin was built belonged to their Indians. The Senecas remained faithful to the French and Joncaire, (*Documents of Colonial History of New York*). Louis Thomas de Joncaire, Sieur de Chabert was born in 1670. In 1687 he was taken prisoner by the Senecas and his life being spared he was adopted by the tribe. By his marriage with a Seneca squaw he soon gained great influence over them. In 1706 he married Madelaine le Guay and had ten children, several of whom died in infancy. The eldest, Philippe Thomas de Joncaire born Jan. 9, 1707, and the seventh, Daniel, born in 1716, followed in their father's footsteps. Louis Thomas de Joncaire entered the French service in 1700 and continued in it until his death, which occurred at Niagara June 29, 1739. In the Governor's report for information of the Minister of Marine (France) for 1736, de Joncaire is described as having been made an ensign in 1704 and a lieutenant in 1710; he was at that time (1736) sixty years old, "a braggart, but rendered good service in treating with the Iroquois by whom he is adopted." *Canadian Archives for 1899 p 28; Early*

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Western Travels by Thwaites, Vol. I, p 54; Wisconsin Historical Collections; Tanguay, Montreal Manuscripts.

45 Pierre or Peter Berthelet, a native of Savoy, came to Detroit at an early date with his brothers, Henry and Augustus. He established himself in business and became the owner of lands on both sides of Randolph street from Woodbridge to the river. He returned to Montreal, leaving his property in care of his brothers who built the Berthelet market, the Berthelet wharf and warehouses and several dwellings. Peter died sometime in 1829, and was said to be at that time, one of the richest men in Canada. *Detroit Free Press, May 10, 1885, Berthelet will.*

46 Capt. John Brown of the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Americans, commanding officer at Niagara in 1767.

Major Rogers⁴⁷ , in his way from Michilamakenaz had sailed a few days before I arrived, a Prisoner on Board the

47 In 1766 Major Robert Rogers was appointed Commandant at Michilimackinac. This office he used to his own advantage and very shortly afterwards he was found incurring expenses without authority and drawing upon the Government drafts that went to protest for non-payment. He was charged with plundering the Fort and with designs of joining the French if the English did not give him the liberty of governing Michilimackinac as he wished. He was sent to Montreal to answer these charges, but managed to acquit himself. See *Roger's Journals by Hough; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X.*

26 Kings Vessel, on Lake Ontario, commanded by Capt. Grant⁴⁸ ; in order to stand his trial at Montreal.

48 Alexander Grant was born in Scotland in 1734 and came to America in 1758. He had served three years in the Royal Navy and was an ensign in the Montgomerie Highlands. He was in the expedition against Fort Duquesne and appointed lieutenant of the 77th Regiment, in 1759. He was in command of a sloop on Lake Champlain and served against

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Crown Point and Ticonderoga. In 1760 he was appointed to command a brig on the same lake and in 1764 was in command of all the vessels on the lake. This position he held until 1777, when he was appointed to command vessels on Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Michigan.

In 1768 he made his home in Detroit, later moving to Grosse Pointe. On Sept. 30, 1774, he married Theresa Barthe and they had eleven daughters and one son. In 1791 he was chosen a member of the Council of Upper Canada and in 1796 was President. Until that time he had lived at Grosse Pointe, but on the coming of General Anthony Wayne he chose to remain a British subject and accordingly moved to Canada. During the latter years of his life he lived at Amherstburg and there he died May 13, 1813. He was 53 years in command of the lakes and 57 in his Sovereign's service. *C. M. Burton.*

Saturday 23d July the Canoes sett out for the Landing place, about 3 leagues up the River; Capt. Brown being so good as to spare each of them a Barl. of Flour on my account. The poor people, from the length of their Voyage not having a Days provisions left; Captain Brown and I rode up by Land, and met the Canoes at the Landing place, The Bank is here so high, that all the Kings provisions, and Traders goods are hauled up by a Windlass, from the Shore between 90 and 100 feet; and then they are Conveyed 3 Leagues further, up the River by Horses and Oxen, to where was formerly Fort Schlawser⁴⁹, now Called Little Niagara. In the Indian War, Collonel Broadstreet was Obligated to erect small Stockaded Forts, every 1200 yards on this Carrying place, for protecting the Conveys of Provisions going over this Portage, and I was showed a small Bridge, where 90 of our People, under the Command of Lieutenant Don: Campbell of R.A. Regiment, was attacked on such an Occasion by about 400 Seneca Indians, and was killed with all his small Brave party, except 4, who got down to the Fort, after leaping over a large precipice⁵⁰;

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49 Fort Schlosser was built in 1760–'61 to replace Fort Little Niagara, by Capt. John Joseph Schlosser, a German who had served in the British Army at the capture of Fort Niagara. *New York Documents of Colonial History, Vol. X p 731.*

50 This was Devil's Hole Massacre. Lieut. Don Campbell was returning from Fort Schlosser to Niagara with a company of nearly ninety men who had conducted supplies over the carrying place destined for Detroit. When they reached Devil's Hole, Sept. 13, 1763, they were attacked by Senecas who were lying in ambush. Only four escaped in the massacre which followed, among them Matthews, a young boy and John Stedman, a trader who lived at the Portage and had accompanied the wagon. Some authorities give William Stedman as the one who escaped. *Seaver's Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison, p 170. Early Reminiscences of Western New York and the Lake Region by Barton, p 23.*

27 These Senecas are reckoned the most numerous Tribe of Indians, about Lake Erie and are Deemed in general a most faithless set. We dined at Little Niagara, at Mr. Physters⁵¹, now an Officer in the Royal Americans; who with one Mr. Stedman⁵² hires this Portage from the King, and is paid £100 Stg and Seventeen Rations of Provisions for Carrying over all Kings Stores, Provisions, and Officers Baggage; it is reckoned this did not Cost the Government formerly, less than £1200 a year, but what makes this Contract valuable is, he has the priviledge of Carrying over all Traders Goods, which comes to something very Considerable; for an Empty Batteau he is paid £3 York Currency, for each pack 3/10, y. C. ry The Canoes are always Carried over on men's Shoulders; a Cart load going up, is £5 N. Y. C. cy, a Canoe being 2½ Cart Load, The Portage was formerly Dearer than this. About 1½ miles from this place is the falls of Niagara, down the River, where it Divides itself into Two Branches, running round a small Island. The fall is Reckoned about 140 feet high, it is realy Tremendous. That Body of water which falls in a line with the main River, is grandest, and is on the North side of the River, where it is seen to the most advantage, it is said the noise of this fall, is often heard, twenty miles

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51 Lieut. Pfister had a sawmill at Niagara in 1768. In 1772, he took contracts for carrying on the works at Niagara, but his conduct became somewhat disagreeable and was ordered investigated in 1773. *Canadian Archives, B 18 p 114, 141, 147.*

52 There were three Stedmans (Steadman), John, William and Philip, all living at Little Niagara and more or less interested in trade. In 1763 John Stedman had a contract with the British to widen the portage and grade the road for the use of wagons. He led the first wagon team over his newly made road and upon the return trip was attacked by the Indians at Devil's Hole, escaping in such a miraculous manner as to cause the Indians to look upon him with awe. (His heirs claimed that this incident made such an impression upon the Indians that they made Stedman a gift of lands. They fought for it but were never able to prove their claim). However, Stedman did clear and occupy a portion of this tract. He also owned a lot in Detroit within the barracks. This he sold to Alexander and William Macomb in 1773.

Previous to 1763 John had built a mill at the carrying place. The Stedman house was a large frame dwelling which the French had prepared for a chapel at Fort Niagara and which was attached to the old stone chimney, part of the barracks of 1750. It was burned in 1813 leaving the chimney erect. When Judge Porter came to live at Niagara (1806) he took possession of the Stedman house.

During the Revolution both John and Philip took contracts for carrying goods over the portage. By 1795 the Stedmans had left the Falls. Philip went to New York where he died in 1797, and John went to England where he died. *Holland Purchase, pp 229, 490, 493; Seaver's Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison, p 170; Buffalo Historical Publications, Vol. IX; Peter A. Porter's Guide to Niagara Falls River Frontier, pp. 208–9.*

28 off, especially before a Change of Weather; which is remarked never to fail, The mist, or Spray, that rises from the Water, is surprizing, and is seen a vast way off, riseing like Pillars of Smock, Little Niagara is about 14 miles from Fort Niagara, it was at this Portage

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Mr. Chabbert Commanded in the French time, and was Included in the Capitulation, when Fort Niagara Surrendered⁵³ ; there is a most Beautiful prospect round it, and a vast Concourse of Savages, used to resort formerly to Trade here; over whom, from his long residence at this fort, he had gained the greatest Influence; at which time he Commanded the Portage for the Kings Provision; but the Traders had always their Packs Carried over by Savages. Sunday, The People in Our Canoes were employed in Baking their Bread, and Capt. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Phister, Mr. M' Lean⁵⁴ the Commissary at Niagara, and one Capt. Robinson of the Kings Schooner on Lake Huron went up the River on a Party, about 4 leagues to a fine large Meadow, where Mr. Stedman was employed in Cutting of Hay for their Stock in the Winter. This Meadow is about 200 Acres and is very Convenient for the Supply of Cattle for the Portage. N.B. At passing the Landing place, on Saturday we met with Mr. Porlier⁵⁵ on his way to Canada, with about 15 Packs—

⁵³ Both Philip Thomas Joncaire (de Chabert) and his brother Daniel, the Chabert here referred to, signed the articles of capitulation of Niagara in 1759.

⁵⁴ Neil McLean, Commissary of Provisions at Niagara.

⁵⁵ There are two Porliers who appear in the early records of Detroit, Joseph Porlier dit Benac (sometimes called Benac Porlier, Porlier Benae, Joseph Porlier dit Benalque) and Jacques Porlier. Both procured licenses to trade about this time. Joseph Porlier also appears on early Detroit records as Joseph Portier.

Monday 29th July at Nine A.M., Set out from the Fort of Little Niagara; about a league and a half up the River is an Island of about 8 miles long called Grand Isle, which the Indians sometime ago, made a present of to Sir William Johnson, and would be very valuable, if the Country hereabouts was settled, the Current is very strong in going up, but the Stream runs very smooth; about 6 O Clock same Evening arrived at Fort Erie, Reckoned about 6 Leagues 29 from Little Niagara; it stands at the North East Corner of lake Erie; about a mile from it, is a very dangerous rapid, Canoes are often lost in Coming up here; it is

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usual for all the Men to get out of the Canoe at this place, but one at the Stern, and drag the Canoe up against the Stream, in which case they are often up to the Breasts in Water; in going down it is not so dangerous. The King's Vessell we found was not arrived at Lake Erie on our getting to the Fort; and very uncertain when she would; as also that she might be detained there by Contrary Winds for many days, which often happens. Nothing but a strong N. E. Wind being able to Carry her out of the port where she lyes; these particulars determined me to remain in the Canoe, and take my Chance; This small fort, was built as a Depos for provisions, about four years ago, that part of the Works, that fronts the Water is of Stone, and the upper Works, Square Wood and Piquets the rest of the Fort is stockaded round, mounts but a few Guns, and can serve only as a Defence against Savages, The French had formerly no Fort here, there is often a very Blowing Weather from the Lake, at this quarter, and great Surf, running, which in the Spring often does dammage to the Fort; the mouth of the Lake is about a mile over here, Lieut. Pointing^{55a} of the Royal Americans Commanded at this place, with whom I lodged that Night.

55a Lieut. Brereton Poynton.

On Tuesday morning 26 July, set out from Fort Erie at 8 o Clock, at 9, being about 1½ leagues off, our Canoe having run too near the Shore, struck on a large stone, she immediately took a vast deal of Water, we made for the Shore as fast as possible, and got her within a quarter of a mile to it, we then got all out of the Canoe and unloaded her as fast as possible, wadeing in the Water to the middle; we happily saved everything having lightned her on first making water, by throwing the Kegs of Wine, which she was cheifly loaded with, over board, which afterwards 30 floated ashore, we then hauled the Canoe up on the Beach and found a large hole in her Bottom, as big as my head, The Gouvernail or Steersman, set to work and mended her, being part of his Duty on such Cases, at 2 o Clock had her mended, and all put on board; and being ready to sett off, discovered she had got a deal of water in her, which Obliged us to unload her once more, when we found another large hole in her bottom, owing we Imagined to her being hauled too near the Shore; when we last loaded her, and had touched a Stone; repaired her that Evening

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when it came on to blow very fresh, and continuing, obliged us to remain at this place till *Friday 29th July*, being about 3 miles from Point Abineau, the Weather then coming moderate we much rejoiced and left that place, and when up with the Point, we found it blow so hard, and the Waves running So high we Could not venture to double it; were therefore Obligated to put back and about 8 o Clock put into a place about a quarter of a mile to the East of it, and remained there till Saturday morning about 5 o Clock, this point of Abineau, is reckoned a very difficult and dangerous one to get around, many Canoes have been lost there, there is a great Shoal runs off this point. Went that day 9 Leagues to a place called Grande Riviere, this River is said to Communicate with the Bottom of Ontorio, by a Portage of about 3 qurs. of a mile, and formerly many French Canoes went this way, without touching at Niagara; It is but a small river, but very pleasant, and I am told the Savages meet with very fine hunting of Deer near it.

On Sunday 31st July at 5 o'Clock in the morning, left this place, Breakfasting and Dining on the way, as the People Stopt to rest themselves; made that day about 10 leagues, and the Weather Coming to blow very hard, put into a small River called the *River de Bordel*, at this place is good fishing—

Monday 1 Augt. left this, and made the grand point 31 about 2 o 'Clock; The Wind Coming to Blow, was Obligated to stay here, alnight, having made only eight Leagues this day; here is a Portage at this Point, about 2 stone Throws—

This point is pretty remarkable and runs out about 15 Leagues from the North side of the Lake; it is about half a mile broad, at the widest place, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ at the narrowest and is nearly opposite to Presque Isle, which is about 8 Leagues over to the other side, being the Channel by which the Vessell of the lake, makes her passage. At River Bordell, mett two Batteaus, belonging to Mr. Edgard⁵⁶, and Mr. Kyler⁵⁷ of Albany, about 3 o Clock on Tuesday morning, Mr. Adhemar⁵⁸ arrived at the grand point with 4 Canoes by whom I Wrote to T. Aylwin⁵⁹ and J. Lees junr.⁶⁰ at Quebec, received from Mr. Adhemar but indifferent news about Mr. Chabbert; at half past 3 o Clock, left this point and about 2

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o Clock, it came to blow hard, and the Lake running in very high Waves endeavored to double a point, near the River Barbeau but were not able; were therefore Obligated to turn back, which we did with much difficulty and in great danger of filling; got the Canoe luckily into a Gape in the high Land, about 8 leagues from the grand point.

56 William Edgar of Detroit.

57 Henry and Abraham C. Cuyler were both prominent men of Albany at this time. Henry was a merchant and banker. Abraham C. became mayor of Albany, serving from 1770–1778. He became an open royalist and finally went to Canada where he died Feb. 5, 1810.

58 This is undoubtedly Adhemar St. Martin who was appointed Justice of Peace at Detroit, July 28, 1767. He was a merchant residing in Detroit and had a large family.

59 Thomas Alywin was a merchant of Quebec. He was one of the signers of the petition to repeal the Quebec Act in April 2, 1778.

60 John Lees, jr., son of the narrator, after his father's return to England entered the service of Great Britain, as a captain of British Militia, in the American Revolution. He was particularly useful in the defence of Quebec.

At an early date he entered into partnership with one Davidson (*Canadian Archives B 198 p 69 and series "S," March 17, 1787*) and carried on a mercantile business. In 1791 he was appointed to the Legislative Assembly and in 1796 elected to the Executive Council. (*Benjamin Sulte, Historic des Canadiens-Francois* pp 27 and 60). For these services he received a grant of land. In April, 1795, he was appointed Store Keeper General of the Indian Department and made his first report on May 11, 1795, from Montreal. While in this office he made a report charging the Queen's Rangers with stealing Indian goods and presents. (*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Vol. XX*). In 1796 he was styled the Hon. John Lees, esq., and translated a speech of the Cauhnawaga Indians on Aug. 27th of that year. He held the office of store keeper until 1806, when at his death he left his

Library of Congress

accounts in such a state of confusion, through intemperance, that they were not adjusted in 1812. In October, 1810, his sisters Jane and Sarah, claiming to be his sole heirs, petitioned the Earl of Liverpool for the lands which were granted their brother. *Canadian Archives, Series Q. Vol. 113 p 219*. See also Note 1.

32

The greatest part of the way that we came this day, is reckoned very dangerous; being mostly high land, and no Creck to put into; remained here till *Wednesday Morning at 5 o Clock*; when we sett off having by the accounts of both the people; in the Canoes met with a very narrow escape of being oversett.

Wednesday morning, left that place, and having gone but about 2 miles the Weather coming again rough, wer Obliged to put into a small River called Barbue; here I was told many of the Mohawk Indians came for their winter hunting, many Deer etc. being found hereabouts; it containing to blow hard, with a great Surf staid at this place till Friday morning at 6 o'Clock, and being very idle, and not able to go any length in the Woods, for the Musketos I cutt my name at length on a large fallen Tree, on the Beach at the mouth of this River; having sett out on Friday morning, we could make no more than about 5 Leagues. for at 12 o'Clock it coming again to blow, we put into a small River called Matonque, about 2 miles from point a la Fort; which is reckoned about 6 Leagues from Riviere a Barbue; about a League to the East of this place in the River Chaudier which runs a good way in Land toward the North West, Monsr. Boucherville⁶¹, in a Canoe for Mr. Leveque⁶² run ashore at this place, about a fortnight before, and the remains of the Canoe were lying on the Beach; The Goods and People were saved; part of them went overland to Detroit, and sent an Empty Canoe from thence to bring up the rest of the People and the Goods; I was told Mr. Baby⁶³ of Detroit, wintered

⁶¹ This may have been the Hon. René Amable Boucherville, who was a member of the legislative council in 1786 and was appointed on the Committee of Population, Agriculture and Settlement of King's Lands. *Canadian Archives 1906*.

Library of Congress

62 In 1765 there was a Mr. Levesque in Quebec who had charge of stoves and iron from St. Maurice forges. Whether or not this is the Hon. Francis Levesque who served as a member of the legislative council for so many years, beginning in 1778, I have been unable to determine. In 1786 the Hon. Francis was appointed to serve on the Committee of External and Internal Commerce and seems to have taken a very important part in all discussions. *Canadian Archives B 21 (2) p 75* also *Report for 1906*.

63 Duperon Baby. The incident here referred to occurred on July 10, 1760, at Sackett's Harbor (a la Baie de Niouaré). *Memorial des Familles Casgrain, Baby, Perrault* p 82. See also note 43.

33 once in this River, his Wife being taken in Labour, in their way up to Detroit; and during the Winter he carried his Goods on small Stays, up the River near to Detroit; on the same day about 4 o Clock, the Weather coming moderate, we set out again and went that evening about 2 leagues, to a place called *Point au Jardix* where we slept, and set out next morning about 4 o'Clock with good weather and made the East side of the Large Pone, or *maree of Point au Pain* we put in about 3 o'Clock in the afternoon, and the Weather looking very unsettled, remained here all night, and about 6 o'Clock next morning left that place, and with rather blowing Weather went round that large Bluff point, being about 3 leagues; about 8 it came to Blow and the Lake to run very high, we put in at the West side of the point, at a large Sandy Beach, where there formerly was a River, but is now shut up by the Lakes riseing up the sand in the mouth of it; near this place there is very fine fishing and Shooting, to wit of Ducks, Deer, some wild Turkeys and Bass and Pike. On landing we found 3 Batteaus belonging to Shenectady, one Mr. Meldrum⁶⁴ , Mr. Williams⁶⁵ , and Two Dutch Men named Fisher⁶⁶ , from the former I learned some particulars of Mr. Chabert, this being *Sunday 7th August*. it contained all day very rainy, blowing Weather, Mr. Meldrum also informed me of the death of Mr. Thomas, Nephew to Mr. Walker⁶⁷ , and of the bad returns in general from Michelamakenie this year.

64 George Meldrum.

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65 Thomas Williams of Albany, N. Y., came to Detroit in 1765 and married a sister of Joseph Campau. He was a prominent merchant and was justice of the peace and registrar of Detroit in 1782. His son, John R. Williams, was the first elected mayor of Detroit, in 1824.

66 There were several Visshers living about Albany and Schenectady. Johannes Visscher was an early merchant in Schenectady and died there in 1754 leaving two sons, Harmon and Johannes. Tennis Vischer came to Schenectady and married a lady there in 1767. *Visscher genealogy.*

67 Thomas Walker was an Englishman who had lived for many years in Boston, but came to Montreal shortly after 1760. In December, 1764, while serving as justice of peace his unpopularity among certain citizens of Montreal led to an attempt to take his life. The perpetrators of the deed were imprisoned but later released and Gov. Murray dismissed Walker from his office. He was very soon restored and took a conspicuous part in the political affairs of Montreal, being one of the original petitioners for the House of Assembly for the Province of Quebec and for the repeal of the Quebec Act. During the American revolution he was in sympathy with the Colonies and in 1776 fled from Montreal. Brymner says he was rash and hot-headed, not a man of influence or power and was of very little importance politically. He seems to have disappeared from the records after that date, except for one brief mention where in 1785 he dines with du Calvet in London.

Canadian Archives Year 1888 pp. XI–XIII and Note A.

34

Staid all this day at this place sheltered under our Canoes from the Badness of the Weather.

About 8 o Clock in the Evening, another Batteau one Felix Graham⁶⁸, a Trader at Detroit, came in from that place; the Batteau was under sail, and in very blowing Weather, but

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by the assistance of the people in the other Canoes, he got his packs ashore, without damage, without which it would have been very difficult, he had been three days out from Detroit, that day there put also in here Two Canoes, having about 70 packs aboard mostly Catts, Bears and Deer Leather, they were forced in by the bad Weather.

68 Felix Graham lived part of the time in Montreal. He was in partnership with Peter Pond, June 30, 1773. During the early part of the Revolution he was in business with Thomas Williams. *Burton Library Mss., Vol. 103 p 11.*

On Monday 8th August about 5 o'Clock all hands left this place, the Weather being moderate, and Continuing so, went that day about 12 Leagues to a Sandy Beach, about 2 miles from point Pele'; from the last place of Encampment, to this, the land is in general high, and the Soil seemed very good; there was many small Sandy Beaches hereabouts, where Canoes might put in, in Case it came to blow; as we Came further up, the Lands run low, with fine Sandy Beaches.

The Weather in the morning Coming to blow very hard, from East and North East, detained us here three days, a very high Surf, running on the Beach, which obliged us to move our Births, and lastly, almost into the Woods.

Here we found ourselves in a very distressing situation for want of Provisions, having for a Week past been reduced to a Biscuit p man p day, our Pork and Indian Corn was all gone, to a Trifle; this obliged us to send Severall Hunting parties, into the Woods, by which means we subsisted, while here on Eagles, Crows, Racoons, Squirrells and what we could kill, we were obliged to put ourselves to an allowance of Two meals pr. day and what 35 we then eat were not half meals, were nineteen persons in all, in Two Canoes; a Woman and Child being part of that number, for my own part my Breakfast was Tea with about Two Ounces of Biscuit, about as much bread for dinner, with a little Butter and Cheese, my supper a draft of Strong Grog with about 2 Ounces of Bread, I soon found myself much Indisposed from this low diet, added to much Cold I had caught by being

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very often wett, and the hard manner I slept without any pillow but my Portmanteau, I Caught a most intollerable head ach, and was in general so poorly, that I could hardly walk; about this time Two of our hands fell very sick, and were not in a Condition to go a hunting; several of the others were also much indisposed, Friday morning 12th, we had determined to send off Two hands by Land to Detroit, to fetch us provisions, there being little or no Game to be found, in the neighbourhood of where we were; but very fortunately, the Evening before the Wind abated, and the Surf fell some what on the Beach, and we embarked, not without a good deal of risque of filling our Canoes; which at another time we would not have attempted, but we were in dread of having nothing to eat, we had then about a days provisions only left, and having rowed about 3 Leagues, we luckily met with 3 Albany Batteaus from Detroit, that spared us about 4 days provisions, with this we pushed on determining to row all night, and get to Detroit as soon as possible as our Canoe was become very leaky, and required one hand continually employed in baleing; two of our hands were also sick, in the Canoe, and unable to work, about 11 O'Clock at night, had got off the Breakers of point Pele', but the waves running, extreamly high, that we judged it safest to return, about a League and made a Portage of about 2 Acres, a Cross the point. Here we made a fire and prepared Victuals for tomorrow; but unfortunately it then blew so hard, that we Could not venture out, the oyr. Canoe set off, and 36 left us about 2 O'Clock; which we could not do being Obliged to wait till day light, to stop the Leakes of our Canoe, on this point we found some Pidgeons, black Birds, and Crows. The portage is made at many parts of this point of Land, as the weather suits in Coming over the Lake; The doubling of this point is reckoned very dangerous, on Accot. of a long point of Land that runs off. About 9 O'Clock in the Evening left this place, the Weather coming somewhat moderate tho the Lake ran still very high, but our Situation Obliged us to run some risks, with difficulty we made about 2½ leagues, and about 12 at night, in great danger of staving our Canoe, was obliged to put ashore in the bottom of a Sandy Bay; stayed there till about 9 OClock next morning; sett out again, the Lake still running very high, and the wind strong against us. By hard Labour and encouraging the People, we this day about 7 O'Clock in the Evening got round point au Petites Ecords—making about 8 Leagues. Here we

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refreshed the people, and next morning 14th August, it unfortunately proving very rough Weather, we Could not leave this place, till Sunday evening half past 4 O'Clock; by a fire we found on arriving at this place, we judged the other Canoe had not been long gone, from it; 37 this point is reckoned about 3 Leagues from the River's mouth and nine from Detroit; By midnight, we got to the Isle de Bois blanc, rested there till daylight, which time I slept in the Canoe, she being made fast to a Stump in a small Creek; there are severall Islands here in the mouth of the River, which appear extreamly pretty, as does the River all the way up, especially where you come in with the Settlements. At 10 O'Clock got to the first habitations, being about 3 Leagues from where we slept and at 4 O'Clock came up to the Town of Detroit, being *Monday 15th August 1768*. From Isle de *Bois blanc* is reckoned 6 Leagues up to the Town, From point Pele' to the Island is called 3 Leagues, but it is surely at least 5 good ones. Went ashore to Captain George Turnbull⁶⁹ then the Commanding Officer, with whom I staid the time I resided there, and messed with him, Lieutenants Archibald, and Amiel⁷⁰, Mr. Fleming⁷¹ the Commissary of Provisions, for that fort, for the most of the time I was there, waited next morning on Mr. Chabbert⁷², who made me

⁶⁹ Capt. George Turnbull of the 60th Regiment. He signed the deed of Hog Island (Belle Isle) to George McDougal, May 4th, 1768. He was Commandant at Detroit from 1767–1769.

⁷⁰ Ensign John Amiel of the 60th Regiment was one of the witnesses of the deed of Hog Island to George McDougal.

⁷¹ Sampson Fleming, Deputy Commissary at Detroit June 17, 1768, married Alice Haliburton, half sister of John Kinzie. They moved to New York and had several children. After Fleming's death his wife married Nicholas Low of New York. Many of their descendants are prominent in that city.

⁷² The Chabert here referred to is without a doubt Daniel Joncaire, Sieur de Chabert and Clausonne. He was the seventh child of Louis Thomas (see note 44) and was born at

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Montreal in 1716. Both he and his older brother Phillipe Thomas followed the profession of their father. They were successful in managing Indian affairs and went on many commissions into the Indian country. Daniel obtained his ensigncy with full pay on Feb. 28th, 1748, and accompanied Celeron's expedition in 1749. In 1753 he met Washington at Venango and it was chiefly through his influence that the Ohio Indians deserted the English during the French and Indian Wars. Governor Clinton and Dinwiddie each offered inducements to the Indians for the capture of Joncaire.

At the surrender of Niagara in 1759 both Daniel and Phillipe Thomas became prisoners. Daniel must have been taken to Montreal after it was captured as he lived in 1761 in a house on St. Paul street. At this time he sold a house and lot which belonged to him in Detroit. (*Montreal Mss. Vol. 15 p 4874, Vol. 20 p 6424, Burton Library*). At the downfall of the French in Canada, he suffered severe losses and made application to the French government for reparation. He went to France and was sent to the Bastille where he remained two years. On March 27, 1764, he applied for a passport to Canada and June 11 of the same year he was granted by the Court of England, one year in which to go to Canada and dispose of his property. Before his arrival Gov. Murray received instructions to watch him and not to allow him to trade with the Indians. Thus he arrived under a cloud of suspicion which he was never able to remove. He took the oath of allegiance and after several attempts to obtain a permit to trade with the Indians succeeded in 1767 in gaining the confidence of Carleton, who granted him the required permission. He left Montreal for Niagara with a cargo of goods and promised to use all his influence to quiet the Indians. Upon reaching Niagara he made a public speech before the Indians and was suspected by Sir William Johnson of later speaking in private to the same Indians and arousing them against the English. In November, 1767, he is listed among the Noblesse of Canada (*Canadian Archives for 1888 p. 44*) as a lieutenant, aged 48 years, stationed at Detroit, father of four children. Upon arriving at Detroit he seems to have made it his home and his family soon followed. He became a man of prominence and influence. He died July 5, 1771, leaving a widow, who died in 1773, and several children. *Tanguav; Canadian*

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Archives; Calendar of Johnson Manuscripts; Documents of Colonial History of New York; Ste. Anne Church Records, Detroit.

38 the fairest promises etc. as pr a separate account of the Sundry meetings I had with him about his affairs. Detroit has been Settled about 70 years⁷³ , The land is uncommonly fertile, which makes the Settlers very indolent, they sow chiefly in the fall, the Country on both sides of the River is flatt, and the Wood not thick, There is a great Extent of very fine clear Plain, a little way behind the first Woods; on the South East side of the River is a small Village of Civilized Hurons⁷⁴ . One Pere Potier⁷⁵ is their Priest, he has been amongst them about Two and Twenty years, said to be a man of learning and Abilities, and bears a good Character. The Fort and Town stands on the North west side of the River. The Fort is stockaded round, with small Blockhouses mounting a few Cannons at the Angles towards the Land; it has been much repaired since we had possession of it. The French had not formerly a Garrison here of more than 25 men even in time of War, Monsr. Billeter⁷⁶ Commanded at this Fort, when it was delivered up after the Capitulation of Canada, and it is said, would not give Credite to the report, that our Commanding Officer brought of that Country's Surrendring to our Arms; in the French time, this Garrison was chiefly found with provisions by the Settlers; The right of their lands is precarious, being formerly granted, or Confirmed by their Commanding Officers, and is frequently disputed by the Indians, particularly the Hurons, who have

73 Detroit was first settled in 1701.

74 Huron Mission where the town of Sandwich is now situated.

75 Pierre Potier (Pothier) was born at Blandain, Flanders, April 21, 1708. He became a Jesuit novice at 21 and came to Canada in 1743 (1742). He studied the Wyandotte language and came to Detroit to assist Father de la Richardie whom he later succeeded as superior of the mission. He died July 17 (16), 1781. *Jesuit Relations by Thwaites. Repertoire General du Clerge Canadien.*

76 Bellestre: See note 25.

39 no great liking to the French. About 40 miles back in the woods behind the Fort, is the village of the *Petawtomies* 77 called by the French *Pous*. They are a tribe we have never been able to depend on; about sixty miles above Detroit is a Village of the Chipawas, on the South of Lake Sinclair, they are a Warlike and numerous Nation, and are dreaded by the other Nations round; they were at this time in a hot war with the *Sous* a tribe that inhabit the North side of the River Mississippi—

On the Miami River, the greatest part of the nation of the Ottawas inhabit, they are a numerous Tribe, and are spread about it in a great many Settlements chiefly on the North side of Lake Huron, near Michaelmakinac and towards the North West. These, the *Pous* and *Chipawas* have almost the same language, and is called the *Ottawa-Tongue* they have been at a continual War with the *Cherokees* for a great many years. I was told that towards the *Miami River* they intimidatate any Englishman to go and Settle amongst them, this very probably by the Intrigues of the French Traders, settled there. The *Cherokees* it's said, retaliate this among the French Men, as it is said they use them very roughly, when they find them their way.

The Chippawas are a very extensive Nation being scattered on the Banks of the Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario. The Missassagoes⁷⁸, inhabiting the North side of Lake Ontario are a Branch of them. The *Sous*, who are at Continual War with them, are said to be very numerous those of the large plains, far up the Mississippi in particular, another Tribe of them Inhabite the Mountains in that quarter, and are very wild; it's said Major Rogers, endeavoured

77 The Pottawattomie village was not forty miles from Detroit. It was situated on the river (Detroit) to the west of the fort and opposite the Huron Mission on the Canadian shore. *Bellin's map 1764*. The writer probably meant four miles.

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78 The Missassagoes had a village near the site of the present town of Sarnia. After the surrender of Niagara they joined the English, but during the Indian Wars they joined the tribes in besieging Detroit and attacked and defeated a detachment of men with supplies and provisions from Niagara for Detroit. They later repented of their part in the siege of Detroit and were taken into favor by the English. *Beaurain's Map 1777; Documents of Colonial History of New York.*

40 to make a peace between these two last tribes in Summer 1767, but it was soon after most treacherously broke, by the *Sous*, by cutting off a party of the Chippawas on their return from Michaelmakinac. The greatest number of the Pous live about St. Joseph, and are still much in the French Interest, and by the Intrigues of a Runaway⁷⁹ Set of the latter at this place, and Miami, prevent any English Traders settling in that quarter. It is observed in general, that the Indians, that were reckoned in the French time a bad Sett are now much in our Interest, and have proved faithfull, and those of bad Character now, with us are reckoned to be much attached to the French. Upon the Wabash where it falls into the Ohio, is still a French Settlement called St. Vincelle⁸⁰, said to Consist of about 150 families. They are mostly run a way Traders; they are under no Command, as we have no Fort or Commanding Officer at that place; they are reckoned to be entirely devoted to the French Interest. They are supplied with their Goods by French Traders from Detroit, who steal out in the night time, without the Knowledge of the Commanding Officer. The Indians settled about the *Islands of Sandusky*, are a branch of the Hurons, The Traders on the Illinois brought in accounts that the Spainiards had built a Fort on our side of the Mississippi, a good way up at a place called *Ouisconsin* at a River which Communicates with the West side of Lake Michigan; and likewise, that they have built another, at a place called *Pilowitimi*, near the Confluence of the Illinois with the Mississippi; on our side of that River; as also that they take great pains by presents etc. to gain

79 "Coureurs de bois."

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80 By the Treaty of Paris 1763, Vincennes came into the possession of Great Britain but there was very little if any effort made to assume control of the post. It was not until the summer of 1778 that its possession became of interest and then Gen. George Rogers Clark marched upon Vincennes and took the town without opposition, leaving Lieutenant Helm in command. When this news reached Detroit, Gov. Henry Hamilton set out secretly and arriving at Vincennes retook it on Dec. 17, 1778. This occupation by the English was of short duration. On Feb. 24, 1779, Hamilton surrendered to Clark.

41 the Friendship of all the Indians in that quarter⁸¹ . The Banks of the River above Detroit, is very agreeably settled for about 7 or 8 miles; on the opposite side it is not settled further than 3 or 4 miles up; but below on that side the Settlements extend 7 or 8 miles; and below the Fort, on the other side about 2 miles; though the Land below this down to the mouth of the River, is very fine and levell. Major Gladwin Commanded at this Fort, when it was attacked in 1763 by the Savages; he had about 200 Men in the Fort, with him, Capable of bearing arms; including a few French that Joined him. The Settlers in the Country were suspected of favouring the attack of the Savages on the Fort and either kept quiet in their own houses, or fled to the Woods without giving the Fort any assistance. This Settlement is reckoned able to raise betwixt 250 and 300 Men, able to bear Arms, it supplies almost all the Forts a great way round, with Flour and Indian corn of which they have always very plentiful Cropts, and what is never known to fail; they use at this place, in lieu of Oil the fat of the Bear, melted down, which the Indians bring them in a kind of flask, made of Deer Skin; it was pretty palatable, and does not eat so strong as might be Imagined, about 4 miles above the Fort, I was shown the Spott where Capt. Dalziel⁸² and his party, were surprised by the Indians, they had a thing very unusual in their war, like Operations, thrown up a small Intrenchment behind the pickets of an Inclosure and waited till Captain

81 In a letter from Carleton to Shelburne, dated March 2, 1768, he writes that the French and Spanish have three settlements opposite Fort Chartres formed since the conquest, which enables them to carry on trade with the people along the north Mississippi and the

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Western Lakes with comparative ease. These were Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis (Paincourt) and St. Charles. The Spanish had already claimed all the land west of the Mississippi and had drawn both Indians and French into their trade. Capt. Francisco Rui, commandant at the Illinois, gives a report on the Indians and the Spanish Settlements, dated March 9, 1769. In this he mentions the Indians of the district of upper Mississippi and their custom of coming to the Illinois for presents, but makes no mention of a fort in that district. *Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII, pp 290 and 299–308.*

82 James Dalzell (Dalyell), lieutenant of the 60th Regiment or Royal Americans (1756), captain of a company in the Second Battalion of Royals or First Regiment of Foot (1760) arrived in Detroit on the 29th of July, 1763. On the 31st he marched against the Indian camp, east of the fort, setting out at 2:45 A. M. The Indians were informed of his plan and when the troops reached Parent's Creek (afterwards known as Bloody run) they were attacked and killed, only a few escaping. *Siege of Detroit by Hough.*

42 Dalziel's Party crossed a small Bridge facing this fence, another party of them were lodged in a house that flanked the Bridge, and on the parties Crossing it, they received them with a heavy fire on all sides, Capt. Dalziel has been blamed for undervaluing the Strength of the Indians too much and not sending out flanking parties when he was on his March out in Quest of them—

The price established at Detroit by Custom, for Peltries when received in payment, to witt
—

Beaver 5/4 New York Currency

Raccoons #

Dear Skin 3/—

Red do #

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Fall Skins ¼

Otters—10/—

Bears Male 10/— do female 8/—

Cats and Foxes 2/8

Elks 10/8

Minks 2/—

Fishers 5/4;

Woolves 4/—

Martins 3/—

Muskratts 4

Scraped Leather 2/—

Furrs, in the upper Country, are usually packed up as follows.

Beaver 80 or 90, in a pack.

Racoons, 150 Skins.

Pichoux, 100 Skins.

Peauxrouge 50 do.

Peaux de Chevreaux, 90 tt

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Do. d'Ours 20 Skins.

Do. Otters, 100.

Do. de Cers, 10.

Do. d'Illinois, 20.

The length of a French Canoe is ordinary 28 to 30 feet, that is those that go to the Upper Country, from Montreal. They Cost usually from 50 to 60 Dollars, and stow in common from 75 to 85 pieces, or packs, of dry goods, or small Barrells weighg. about 70 tt each, and it is computed that with the provisions, necessary for the Men, one of these Canoes, is Capable of Carrying 4 Ton dead weight; in going up they Carry usually 6 Men, and 43 in Coming down, only 4 or 5, it being easier to go down the Rapids then go up; on the Voyage up the Men are allowed Biscuit, Pork and Pease, but on the voyage down, they are allowed nothing but Indian Corn and Bears Grease, which they boil up together, and their Provisions are always found at the expenses of the *Bourgeois* that fitts out the Canoe. The wages of the people in Canada in Spring 1768 was as follows.

A Steersman, or Gouvernail, out and home Two hund. Livres—

A Front's man, or Avant, nearly the same—A man in the middle of the Canoe or Ordinary Rower, from One hundred and Twenty to 140 Livres. In former years the wages used to be much higher; they are besides the above prices, allowed a Brigue, or *Arse Clout* with a pair of Metasses. It is common at Montreal, in engaging people to go up in the Canoes, to hire them to go to Michilmakinac or Detroit, and return, and—at these places, they are found with provisions; and if an opportunity does not immediately offer, of loading their Canoes back, they sell their time to the proprietors of some other Canoes, that are bound down, sometime at a Considerable profit, if Men happen to be much wanted; with this the Engagies are Obliged to acquiesce, and for a Security that they are Satisfied for their

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Labour, the Canoe, nor any part of the furr's can be sold or Conveyed to another till they are Satisfied—for their Wages.—

The Schenectady Batteaus are navigated with but three men, they hold at most 14 Rum Barls. generally only 12, Cost usually from 8 to 9 pounds N. Y. Currency a Batteau; a man's wages from Shenectady to Detroit is from £18 to £20, same Currency, to Niagara £12, to Oswego £7, but they always find themselves and on their arrival at the Posts, are free to return on their own accot., in which Case they usually take the packs at 20/ York Currency pr. pack from Detroit, the Wages to Michilmakinac 44 is commonly £25 N. York Currency, and they find provisions as before, These Batteau's Carry usually 25 or 26 packs, a french Canoe holding very nigh Double what they will—on which Account, and from the Cheapness of Labour in Canada, it is reckoned the Indian Trade is Carried on, on cheaper Terms in Canada, than from Albany or Shenectady. There is another kind of Batteau that is managed by five men, which they Call a *French one* and Carries about double the quantity of the others. In Crossing the Lake, all the hands must be Consenting in Case of bad Weather, before they get under way, which exempts the Party Objecting, from paying any part of the Loss, in case they are cast away, or meet with Damage, from the negligence of the others. These Batteau-Men are generally paid in Goods by the Merchants of Shenectady, and in generall work very hard for their Livelyhood. The Charge of Carrying Goods from Shenectady to Oswego, is about 20 pr. Ct—

August 27th 1768, having Settled my affairs with Mr. Chabt. as well as the Situation of Matters would admitt off, I set out from Detroit on board the Sloop *Charlotte*, Captain Gage, the Kings Vessell on Lake Erie. In the Evening came to an anchor at the Isle *au d'Indes* 83 about 2 leagues down the River, It was near this Island, that the Indians, last War, attacked the King's Vessell, in vast numbers, in their Canoes, which they did with uncommon Bravery, but were beat off, after a Considerable loss, the Captain of the Kings Vessell was killed in this attack, with Severall others of our Men; and it was with difficulty the rest carried the Vessell up to Detroit.—

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83 Fighting Island, a pleasure park for Detroit picnickers, on the Canadian side of the Detroit River (1911).

Tuesday 30th August, Left that place, the wind having Come fair, and Anchored at the Isle de *Bois Blanc* 84 . The Wind coming Contrary, remained there till Friday *2d September* , Having before that, made severall Attempts to

84 Bois Blanc is used for picnic excursions, etc. (1911). It is located at the mouth of the Detroit River, in Lake Erie.

45 get out, but the wind came to head us, on getting out on the Lake; This Evening September 2 Anchored at Bass Island, one of the *Sandusky Islands* which they say are no less than Two and Twenty in number, there is fine hunting, and Shooting on most of them, for the Indians, also good Bass Fishing. On Lake Sandusky, we had a small Fort⁸⁵ erected before the Indian War, but was afterwards Cutt off, it is a part of the Huron Nation that Inhabite round this Lake.

85 De Lery claimed that Fort Sandusky was built on the south side of Sandusky Bay about 1745, on land which is now covered by the lake. In 1750 John Patten, a captive among the Indians, describes it as a small palisaded fort with 20 men and built in the latter end of 1750. In 1755 Bellin marks, on his map, a point on the west side of the mouth of the river, as an ancient, abandoned fort called Fort Sandusky. At the overthrow of France, Sandusky was transferred to England. At the beginning of the Indian troubles in 1763, Ensign Paully was sent to take command of Fort Sandusky. It was attacked by the Indians and Paully surrendered May 16 (22nd), 1763. The garrison was massacred and the fort destroyed. Paully was taken to Detroit a prisoner, and afterwards made his escape. *Twentieth Century History of Sandusky Co., Ohio, 1909.*

Tuesday 6th September at 5 OClock weighed Anchor from this Island, with a fair wind at South West. The Winds before this had held uncommonly long at North East, very uncommon on these Lakes, it hardly blowing above 3 or 4 days at a time, so at Sun Set

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half past 6 O'Clock could just see the Islands behind us, the Wind Continuing very fair all night, at 6 O'Clock Wednesday, could see Presque Isle having run the last 24 hours 70 leagues; at 5 oClock in the Evening were in sight of Fort Erie, at 6 OClock Came to an Anchor there, having by Computation, run 84 Leagues, in 30 hours—

September *7th at 7 O Clock* in the morning, took a passage in Bateau for Little Niagara, in Company with Mr. Johnson of the Royal Americans, and dined there, having got down in 2½ hours; after dinner Walked over the Carrying place, with Mr. Cape, being about 3 short Leagues and Shewed him the falls; Set off from the Landing place, at half past 5 o Clock and arrived at Niagara at 8 OClock the same Evening. On our Arrivall found the Vessell was then loading for Fort Ontorio, No other opportunity so Expeditious, then offering, resolved 46 waiting till she was loaded in order to take a passage in her, by bad Weather and Winds, it was not Compleated till the *16th being Friday* when we embarked on board in Company with Captains Wharton, Spicemaker⁸⁶ , Lieutenants Christie⁸⁷ , Bradhim⁸⁸ , and Roberts⁸⁹ , and Mr. Anse⁹⁰ , the Indian Interpreter at Michilimakina, and by Contrary Winds, did not arrive at Ontario, till Monday *19th September*. Before leaving Niagara, bought a Batteau in Company with Mr. Chapman for £6 N. Y. Currency, to carry us down from Oswego, in case of a Vessells not sailing soon from thence, and Captain Wharton informing us, that the Vessell would not leave for 6 or Seven days, we got lyberty from Captain Spicemaker for 3 Men to go down with us in the Batteau, and left Oswego the same day, being 19th September at 4 O'Clock in the afternoon.

⁸⁶ Frederick Christopher Spiesmacher was appointed lieutenant in the 60th or Royal American Regiment in 1756 while a prisoner of war in France. In 1770 he was promoted to a captaincy and received his majority in 1778. His command went to the West Indies in 1772 where it is supposed he died in 1782. When Robert Rogers was sent away from Michilimackinac in 1767 Spiesmacher succeeded him in command. *Documents of Colonial History of New York; Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII p 279.*

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87 Lieut. John Christie surrendered Presqu'ile to the Indians, June 18, 1763. The garrison was seized and sent to Detroit. Christie was brought into Fort Detroit and surrendered up on July 9, 1763.

88 This is undoubtedly Lieut. Dietrich Brehm, a German engineer who came to America in 1756 with the 32nd Regiment (later the 60th or Royal American). In 1774 he was made captain and in 1783 major. *Early Western Travels 1743–1846, Vol. I, p 107; Wilson's Orderly Book, p 45.*

89 Benjamin Roberts, Commissary of Indian Affairs at Michilimackinac in 1766–7, quarreled with Major Rogers, who ordered him confined and sent to Sir William Johnson. He was released upon satisfying Johnson that he was only obeying orders, and sent to Gage. In 1770 he went to England. *Calendar of Johnson Manuscripts.*

90 Joseph Louise Ainse, a native of Michilimackinac and interpreter of that post, was born May 1, 1744. In 1766 he was an informer against Robert Rogers. He was retired from office by De Peyster, but reinstated by Gov. Patt. Sinclair. In 1786–7 he made a journey into Wisconsin in the interests of peace, but was accused and tried the next year by the merchants of Mackinac. His trial dragged on for over two years and in 1790 he was convicted of having enbezzled government stores for his own trading ventures. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XI, pp 491–610.*

Wednesday 21st September put into Deer Island⁹¹ at 5 O Clock in the Evening, being too late to make the Travers, and not sure if we were in the right Channell, the Channell appears to be about 3 Leagues over to the main Land, on the N. E. Shore of the Lake. The navigation

91 Sometimes called Buck Island and later named Carleton Island in honor of Sir Guy Carleton, was used for military stores during the Revolution.

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47 here is very Ticklish to Strangers. On leaving the last point on the Main Land, you make a point about 2 leagues over, which is within the outer point towards the Lake, the first is the point of the *Isle de Gallette* 92 , the latter on the left, is the South West point of Deer Island; from the point of the Isle de Galette, you make a Traverse of 1½ Leagues to the N. E. point of Deer Island—which makes on a high Stonny Beach; on the South side of this, is the best camping place; near it is a pretty-large pond or Swamp; but I found poor hunting near it. On leaving the main land, a large Bay⁹³ opens to the right, and makes with a very wide opening, and high Land on each Side, though this opening, on a nearer approach to it is nothing but low Swampy Land. This Bay is said to be about 40 miles in Circumference, and Care must be taken, not to get engaged in it, but keep to the left in coming from Oswego. The French when they attacked that Fort in 1756, had a Fort and deposite for Stores in the Bottom of this Bay. We embarked from this Island on the 25 Curt. at 8 O Clock in the morning, the Weather having come on moderate, which before had been very rough, and Tempestuous; and Continued raining, without intermission for Two days. We arrived at the opposite Shore, under Sail, with a fair Wind, in two hours and a half. The Land we make here is a Chain of four or five Islands. We passed between the Second and third Island, which led us into a small Bay, this we found took us out of our way, as we were Obligated to sail round the Back of the Outmost Island before we get into the mouth of the great River. The proper Course is from the Deer Island to the outmost Island to the North West. and from that you will make by a Shorter Course the mouth of the River St. Lawrence. This River, all the way as you come down is very full of Islands, about 25 miles from Oswegatchie is the *Grenadier*

92 Isle aux Galots (*Sauthier's map*), the modern Gallop Island.

93 This is Niaouenre Bay, called also Nivernois Bay (*Sauthier's map 1779*), also Niawerne Bay (*Vaughn map*), Baie de Niouaré, modern Sacket's Harbor.

48 *Island* where the Grenadiers of General Amhersts Army encamped, in going to Canada; the last of the cluster of Islands, is about 10 miles from the Fort; about 6 miles above the Fort, on the North side is the spott where the French were in use to build

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their Vessells. The fort of Oswegatchie⁹⁴ is built on a Swamp, which situation is found Convenient on Acct. of the Provisions Vessel, which can load or discharge close to the gate of the Fort, from the great depth of water hereabout. Severall high grounds are round it more suitable for a place of Defence, particularly on the West point, on which spott and in this Swamp, there formerly was a village of Indians, but on our getting possession of the fort, they abandoned it, and have retired to a small Island⁹⁵ near Fort Levy⁹⁶. We arrived at Oswegatchi, on *Monday afternoon 26th* September, at 4 OClock about 10 miles up this Creek or Swamp, is a small Lake, where there is good shooting. A Bateau being ready to set off in a day or Two, we waited till then and set off in Company wt. Captains Carden, Spicemaker, Choystie⁹⁷, etc, who had arrived the night before; Fort Levy is about 6 Miles below, on an Island, is a neat Fort, but now abandoned except 3 or 4 Men, that are kept there in order to take Care of some Stores, that still remain in it. The Current here is very strong, on which account the Vessell Could not so Conveniently go down to Lodge the Provisions. The Channel at Fort Levi, is about 800 feet, over, on the South side, and 300 on the North. It was the opinion of many at the Fort of Oswegatchie, that building a Fort at Catarqui⁹⁸, would be no advantage or Saving to the Gouvernment, as the

⁹⁴ On Oct. 20, 1749, the Abbé Francois Picquet founded a mission at the mouth of the Oswegatchie river and built a fort for its protection. He gave it the name of La Presentation. At the fall of Quebec, Picquet retreated from his position rather than swear allegiance to England. He died at Verjan, July 15, 1781. The mission and fort were on the west side of the river on the site of the present Ogdensburg. *Documentary History of New York, Vol. I, pp 423–440.*

⁹⁵ St. Regis Island. *Pouchot's Old French War, Vol. II, p 8.*

⁹⁶ Fort Levis (Levy) was on Isle Royale. When the English took Canada they called it Fort William Augustus. In 1765 it was pronounced useless. *Documents of Colonial History of New York.*

97 Evidently intended for Christie.

98 This was the site of Fort Frontenac and the present town of Kingston.

49 Expences of Carrying provisions in Batteauxs to that place, must be very Considerable, and the Vessell by going only about one half of the Summer, Could not Carry Provisions enough for the supply of all the upper Forts, on which account, it is of Little Consequence whither the Vessell has long or Short passages, in the River. About 3 miles below Fort Levy, begins the first Rapid, about half a mile long, and where the Water rises in waves very high. The next Rapid of any Consequence, is about 50 miles from the Fort and is called the *longue Saut* where the rapid continues about 9 miles, and the Current is so strong that Canoes or Batteaus Come down it usually in 25 minutes, some say less.—

The most dangerous rapid, till you come to the Cedars is immediately on leaving the Lake St. Francois; the River here divides into many branches, which form as many Islands. The right Channel is after Coming out of the Lake, you pass three Islands on your left, and then keep in betwixt the third and the fourth, steering close by the last Island, and when Come to the lower end of it, you must Cross right over to the other side of the River to avoid a very heavy rapid, that runs betwixt the fourth and fifth Island; which fifth Island on the right hand, you must carefully avoid, as no Batteau Could live in it. It was in taking this wrong Channell that General Amherst lost many of his men. The Lake St. Francois is reckoned 70 miles from Oswegatchie; that is the north West end of it. We camped here, on a point *Friday 30th September*. The Lake is 7 Leagues over, and in going up or down the North side is always kept. The foregoing rapids may be always come down without a Pilote; and the cheif thing required is to keep the Canoe or Batteau always under *Headway* by rowing or paddling regularly together, and the Steersman and head's man, to be Carefull in keeping the Vessell straight, and by no means to throw her to one side or other; good Steerage being the principal thing. 50 At the Cedars the most dangerous Rapids begin, where it is absolutely necessary to have experienced Pilots, which are always to be had on Coming into that Parish. The descent of water is here amazingly great, and rapid, about

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a league from the Church, is the most dangerous part of the whole, being a large hole formed by two Eminencies of Rocks, through which the water falls with a great weight and Swiftness, here the most nice Pilotage is necessary so as to neither keep too much to the right or left, or the Batteau must inevitably perish, about a league below this, is an other hole or *trous* 99 also very terrible, and the Breakers formed by the many Rocks in the River rise up to a great height, which requires the strongest Rouing, or Padling, to be Observed here; so as to Carry the Vessell quickly through. A great number of General Amherst's Troops were lost in these Rapids, by keeping too much out into the Current; which must be avoided except when there is not water enough in these *Trous*. These Rapids we passed safely *Octor. 1st* being about 9 miles in length; at the foot of the Rapids, you arrive at the Isle de *Perrault*, at the left of it, runs out a Branch of the Ottawa River, and on the Right, runs down the River St. Lawrence to Montreal; the Island is Reckoned about 3 Leagues in Circumference; from this Island to Lachine¹⁰⁰ is Reckoned 15 or 16 miles. We arrived safe at that place, on *Saturday Evening 1st Octor.* at 6 O'Clock.—very well satisfied at having escaped so many dangers.

J. L.

99 Falls of the Hole (du Trou).

100 La Chine Rapids in the St. Lawrence.

51

INDEX JOHN LEES' JOURNAL

Page

Adhemar, St. Martin 31

Africa, trade to 11

Library of Congress

Ainse, Joseph Louis 46

A'la Tourte 23

Albany 5, 13, 14, 17, 19, 33, 35, 44

Almon's Remembrancer 7

American Revolution 3, 9, 17, 19, 23, 33

Amherst, General Jefferey 19, 21, 48, 49, 50

Amherstburg 26

Amiel, John (ensign) 37

Anabaptists 11

Anderson 7

Archibald, Lieut 37

Arnot (Arnold?) 10

Assembly, House of 7, 12, 31

Aylwin, Thomas 31

Baby, Duperon 32

Baby Genealogy 23

Baby, Jacques Duperon 23

Library of Congress

Baby, Raymond 23

Baie de Niouaré 47

Baie de Niquaré 47

Banks of Newfoundland 8

Barbue River 31, 32

Barthe, Theresa 26

Barton's Reminiscences 26

Bass Island 45

Beaurain's Map 1777 39

Beaver trade 12

Belle Isle 37

Bellestre, Francois Marie Picoté de' 16, 38

Bellin's Map, 1764 39, 45

Berthelet, Augustus, Henry, Peter, Market, Will 25

Blandain, Flanders 38

Bleecker, John R 14

Bloody Run Battle 41

Library of Congress

Bogert, Henry I. 14

Bois Blanc Island 37, 44

Boston 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 33

“Boston Coffee House” 9

Boucherville, René Amable 32

Bowers, Samuel 12

Bradstreet, Colonel John 14, 19, 21, 26

Brehm, Lieut. Dietrich 46

Bridges, Mr. 13

Bristol 11

British Museum 3

Brown, Capt. John 25, 26, 28

Brymner, Douglas 33

Buck Island 46

Buffalo Historical Society 13, 27

Bull, Mr. 19

“Bunch of Grapes Tavern” 9

Library of Congress

Burnet, Gov. William 21

Burton, C. M 3, 26

Burton, M. Agnes 3

Burton Library 34, 37

Caghnawagah 15, 16

Calvet, du 33

Campau, Joseph 33

Campbell, Capt. Daniel 13

Campbell, Lieut. Don 26

Campbell's Tavern 14

Campbell, William M. 12

Canadian Archives 7, 21, 25, 27, 31, 32, 33, 38

Canadian Parliament 16, 26

Canada, Reduction of 14

Cape Ann 8, 9

Cape Cod 9

Cape, Mr. 45

Library of Congress

Carden, Capt. 48

Carleton, Sir Guy (Lord Dorchester) 7, 37, 41, 46

Carleton Island 46

Casco Bay 8

Castle Island 9

Castle of the Mohawks 16

Castle William 9

Casgrain, Baby and Perrault families 32

Catrows 18

Cazeau, Mr. 23

Cedars, rapids at 49, 50

Celoron's Expedition, 1749 37

Chabert Daniel (see Joncaire) 7, 25, 28, 31, 33, 37

Chabert, Louis Thomas de Johncaire, sieur de 25, 37

Chabert, Philip Thomas Joncaire 28

Chapman, Mr. 46

Charlotte (sloop) 44

Library of Congress

Charter Privileges 12

Chaudiere River 32

52

Cherokee Indians 16, 39

Chippewa Indians 39, 40

Christie, Lieut. John 46, 48

Church of England 11

Cicotte, Angelique 23

Clark, General George Rogers 40

Clinton, Gov. 37

Cochnwago (Cocknowago) 15

Colden, Cadwallader 14

Columbia College 13

Conashechery 16

Connecticut 10

Conor, Capt. John 9

Corne, Mr. de la 21

Coueurs de bois 40

Library of Congress

Crown Point 19, 26

Cunningham, an Indian Trader 17

Cuyler, Abraham Cornelius 14, 31

Cuyler, Henry 31

Dalzell (Dalyell) Capt. James 41, 42

Davidson, partner of John Lees, Jr. 31

Deal 7

Deer Island 46, 47

DeLery, Gaspard Chaussegros 19

DeLery, Joseph Chaussegros 19

DeLery's Map 21, 45

DePeyster, Major A. S. 46

Detroit 5, 13, 16, 17, 21, 23, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44

Detroit Free Press 25

Detroit Registry Office 7

Detroit River 39

Devil's Hole Massacre 26, 27

Library of Congress

Diana (ship) 7

Dinwiddie, Gov. 37

Documents of the Colonial History of New York 20, 38, 39, 46

Documentary History of New York 18, 22, 48

Douw, Volckert Petrus 14

Drake's History of Boston 9

Drake's Old Boston Taverns 9

Duncan, John 14

Dutch travelers 14

Eagleston, Rev. John 7

Eastburn, Robert, captivity of 19

Edgar, William 31

Elective officers 12

Ellice, Alexander 14

Erie 5

Falls of the Hole (du Trou) 50

Finn (see Phyn)

Library of Congress

Fighting Island (Turkey Island) 44

First American Regiment 19

Fisher (see Visshers)

Fisher Island 13

Fleming, Sampson 37

Florida, N. Y. 15

Fonda, Douw 15

Fonda, Major Jelles 15

Fort Brewerton 20

Fort Brewington 20

Fort Bull 19

Fort Cataraqui 48

Fort Chartres 41

Fort Chonaguen 21

Fort Cumberland 7

Fort Duquesne (see Fort Pitt) 19, 23, 26

Fort Erie 28, 45

Library of Congress

Fort Frederick 14

Fort Frontenac 48

Fort Herkimer 16, 17

Fort Hunter 15

Fort Levy 48, 49

Fort Little Niagara 26

Fort Niagara 5, 25, 28

Fort Ontario 21, 45

Fort Oswego 5, 21, 22

Fort Pepperell 21

Fort Pitt (see Fort Duquesne) 19, 23, 26

Fort Sandusky 45

Fort Schlosser 26

Fort Schuyler 17, 18

Fort Stanwix 5, 17, 18, 20, 21

Fort Williams 9, 10

Fort William Augustus 48

Library of Congress

French and Indian War 3, 37

French Traders 39

Fraser, Mr., a trader 25

Furs, prices of 12, 42

Gage, Capt. 44

Gage, General Thomas 46

Gallop Island 47

Gamelin, Medor or Medard 23

Gentleman's Magazine 21

German Flatts 16

German Settlers on the Mohawk 16

Gladwin, Major Henry 41

Graham, Felix 34

Grand Isle 28

Grand River 30

Grant, Capt. Alexander 26

Grant, Mrs. Memoirs 14

53

Library of Congress

Great Sodus 23

Greenwich 11, 12

Grenadier Islands 47

Grosse Pointe 26

Guay, Madelaine le 25

Guinea trade 11

Habeas Corpus, writ of 7

Haldimand, Frederick 21

Haliburton, Alice 37

Hall, Capt. James 7, 9

Hamilton, Gov. Henry 40

Harrison, Edward 7

Hasenclever, Peter 17

Helm, Lieut 40

Hemp, raising of 17

Herkimer, Capt. Nicholas 16

Highlands on the Hudson 13

Library of Congress

Hog Island 37

Holland Purchase 27

Hope (island) 11

Hopkins, Stephen 12

Hough, Franklin, Roger's journal 25

Hudson River 14

Huron Indians 40, 45

Huron Mission 38

Illinois 40, 41

Indian Corn 11

Indian Council 13

Indian Trade 15

Indian War 16

Ingersol, Col. Joseph 9

Isle au dinde (Turkey Island) 44

Isle Aux Galots 47

Isle de Perrault 50

Library of Congress

Isle Royale 48

Jamaica 18

Jesuit Relations 38

Jews in vast numbers 12

Johnson, Christopher 15

Johnson Hall 15

Johnson, of the Royal Americans 45

Johnson Manuscripts destroyed by fire in 1911 17, 38

Johnson, Sir William 13, 15, 22, 25, 28, 38, 46

Joncaire (see Chabert)

Jones, Pomeroy History, Oneida County 17

Kennedy, Mr. 10

King's Birthday 9

King's College 13

King's St. Tavern 9

Kingston, Ontario 48

King's Vessel 26, 44

Library of Congress

King's Wharf 9

Kinzie, John 37

Kirtland, Rev. Samuel 20

Kouari—Indian name for Fort Herkimer 16

Lachine Rapids 50

Lafor, Mr. 23

Lake Champlain 26

Lake Erie 24, 26, 27, 39, 44

Lake Huron 26, 39

Lake Michigan 26, 40

Lake Oneida 20, 21

Lake Ontario 22, 24, 26, 39

Lake St. Clair 39

Lake St. Francis 49

Lake Sandusky 45

Land titles precarious 38

Lansing, Jacob J. 14

Library of Congress

Lansing, Peter 14

La Presentation 48

Lees, Jane 7, 31

Lees, John Jr. 7, 31

Lees, John Sr. 3, 7

Lees, Sarah 7, 31

Leveque, Francis 32

Levey, E. 8

Levy 10

Lewiston, N. Y. 25

Littlehales, Lt. Col. John 21

Little Niagara 26, 27, 28, 29, 45

Liverpool, Earl of 31

Livingston, Peter B. 14

Livingston, Robert 14

London 3, 5, 7 10

Long Island Sound 13

Library of Congress

Long Sault 49

Lopes (a Jew) 12

Low Dutch at Albany 17

Low, Nicholas 37

Lyndon, Josias 12

McDougal, George 37

McLean, Mr. Neil 28

Mackinac (Michillimackinac) 23, 25, 33, 39, 40, 43, 46

Macomb, Alexander 27

Macomb, William 27

Mante, Thomas 22

Marshfield 9

Maseres, Baron Francis 7

Massachusetts Bay 9

54

Matonque River 32

Matthews, a young boy 26

Meldrum, George 33

Library of Congress

Mercer, Col. James F. 21, 22

Methodists 11

Miami 39, 40

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society 16, 21, 25, 31, 46

Michillimackinac, see Mackinac.

Militia Muster 9, 10

Missassagoe Indians 39

Mississippi 40, 41

Mohawk Indians 18, 32

Mohawk River 5, 15, 17, 18

Monroe, Mr. from Scotland 13

Montcalm, Marquis de 21

Montgomerie Highlands 26

Montreal 5, 7, 15, 19, 23, 25, 26, 33, 34, 42, 43

Montreal Manuscripts 25, 37

Moore, Sir Henry 18, 21

Mouton, Monsieur 23

Library of Congress

Murray, Gov. James 33, 37

Narragansette 11

Nepperet's Regiment 19

New England 5

New England Bank 9

Newfoundland 8, 10

Newport 11, 12

New York 5, 10, 11, 13, 37

New York Currency 42

New York Historical Society Fund Collection 21

Niagara 13, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 37, 39, 46

Niaouenre Bay 47

Niawerne Bay 47

Nivernois Bay 47

Noblesse of Canada 37

Nova Scotia 8

Ogdensburg 48

Library of Congress

Ohio Indians 37

“Oneida Carrying Place” 19

Oneida County, Annals 17

Oneida Indians 20

Onondago River 20, 21

Ontario 46

Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg) 21, 23, 47, 48, 49

Oswego 17, 23, 24, 43, 44, 46, 47

Oswego Falls 20

Ottawa Indians 39

Ottawa River 50

Paincourt 41

Parent's Creek, battle on 41

Parliament of Upper Canada 26

Parson's Life of Pepperell 22

Patience (Island) 11

Patten, John 45

Library of Congress

Paully, Ensign Christopher 45

Peltries in Detroit 42

Pennsylvania 13

Pepperell, Sir William 19, 22

Pfister, Lieut. Francis 27, 28

Phyn, James 14, 22, 25

Picquet, Abbé Francois 48

Pilowitimi 40

Point Abineau 30

Point A la Fort 32

Point au Jardix 33

Point au Pain 33

Point Pelé 34, 35

Point au Petites Ecords 36

Pollock and Hayes 12

Pond, Peter 34

Pontiac's Conspiracy, 1763.13, 41

Library of Congress

Porlier, Jacques 28

Porlier, Joseph dit Benac 28

Porter, Judge 27

Porter, Peter A. 27

Porteus, John 14

Portland 8

Potier (Pothier) Father Pierre 38

Pottawattomie Indians 39, 40

Pouchot's French War 21, 48

Poynton, Lieut. Brereton 29

Presbyterians 11

Presqu' Isle 31, 45

Prices of Peltries in Detroit 42

Prideaux, Gen. John 21, 22

Providence (R. I.) 10, 11, 12

Providence River 10, 11

Prudence (Island) 11

Library of Congress

Quakers 11

Quebec 3, 5, 7, 8

Quebec Act 7, 31, 33

Queen's Rangers 31

Raising Hemp 17

Raising Wheat 17

Ramsalon, Col. 14

Rapids of the St. Lawrence 49, 50

Reaume, Susanne Hubert Lacroix 23

Remeau, Mr. 24

Repertoire, General du Clerge 38

Rhode Island 5

Richardie, Father de la 38

55

Riviere de Beuf 24

Riviere de Bordel 30, 31

Roberts, Benjamin, Commissary of Indian Affairs 46

Robinson, Capt. 28

Library of Congress

Rogers, Major Robert 25, 39, 46

Rome, N. Y. 18

Romney (frigate) 9

Ross, Capt. 8

Royal Americans 25

Royal Block House 20

Rui, Capt. Francisco 41

Rutherford, John 13

Rutherford, Robert 13

Rutherford, Walter 14

Rutherford's Narrative 13

Sacket's Harbor 32, 47

Ste. Anne's Church Records 38

St. Charles 41

Ste. Genevieve 41

St. Joseph 40

St. Lawrence River 5, 47, 50

Library of Congress

St. Louis 41

St. Martin, Adhemar 31

St. Maurice Forges 32

St. Paul's Church 13

St. Paul Street, Montreal 37

St. Regis Island 48

Sandusky 40

Sandusky County History 45

Sandusky Islands 44

Sarnia 39

Sault St. Louis 15

Sauthier's Map 47

Schenectady 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 25, 33, 43, 44

Schlosser, Capt. John Joseph 26

Schuyler, Col. Philip 17

Seaver's Narrative 26, 27

Second American Regiment 19, 22

Library of Congress

Seneca Indians 25, 26, 27

Shelburn, Earl 41

Shirley, Gov. William 19, 21

Siege of Detroit 41

Silvester, Mr. 14

Sinclair, Gov. Patrick 46

Sioux Indians 39, 40

Six Miles Point 23

Six Nations 15, 16

Society for the Promotion of the Arts 17

Sodus 23

Sowers, Capt. Thomas 21

Spaniards on the Mississippi 41

Spiesmacher, Capt. Frederick Christopher 46, 48

Stage Coach to Providence 10

Stamp Act 9

Stanwix, General John 18

Library of Congress

Stedman, John 26, 27, 28

Stedman, Philip 27, 28

Stedman, William 26, 27, 28

Sterling, James 14

Stone's Life of Johnson 13, 15, 16

Sulte, Benjamin 31

Tanguay, Abbé 38

Ten Broeck, Abraham 14

Thomas, Mr. 33

Thomson, Capt. 13

Thurston, Mr. 12

Thwaites' Early Western Travels 18, 25, 46

Ticonderoga 26

Town House, Boston 9

Turnbull, Capt. George 37

Turkey Island (Ile au Dinde) 44

Utica, N. Y. 17

Library of Congress

Van Rensselaer, Col. John 14

Vaudreuil 23

Vaughn's Map 47

Venango 37

Verjain 48

Vincennes, Indiana 40

Vischer, Tennis 33

Visshers, Harmon 33

Visshers (Fisher) Johannes 33

Visger (see Visshers)

Wabash River 40

Wages of Employees 43

Walker, Thomas 33

Wanton, Joseph 12

Ward 10

Warren, Anna 15

Warren, Admiral Sir Peter 15

Library of Congress

Warwick Town 11

Washington, George 37

Wayne, Gen. Anthony 26

West India Rum 10

Wharton, Capt. 22, 46

Wheat, Raising of 17

William and Mary 9

Williams, John R. 33

Williams, Thomas 33, 34

Wilson's Orderly Book 46

Windsor 23

Wisconsin Historical Society Collection 23, 25, 40, 41, 46

Wood Creek 18, 19, 20

Wyandotte Language 38

Yates, Abraham, Jr. 14

Library of Congress

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